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THE WOODSTOCK LETTERS

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Note to Contributors

It would be well when submitting contributions to the WOODSTOCK LETTERS to observe the following: type *triple* space, leaving a one-inch margin on either side of the page, i.e., approximately sixty spaces to a line. This will aid greatly in determining ahead of time the length of articles submitted to us, and leaves sufficient room for the insertion of printing directions. Subheadings should also be used, at least one to every other page, in articles and Historical Notes. Pictures, fairly large and clear, should accompany obituaries and other articles, as far as possible; these will, of course, be returned to the contributor.

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AN INSTRUCTION ON THE SODALITY OF OUR LADY TO THE WHOLE SOCIETY

Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers in Christ:
Pax Christi!

Two years ago, when the Congress of the Promoters of the Sodality of our Lady was held at our Curia, I promised that at the proper time I would send an Instruction in which would be gathered together certain practical conclusions arising from the Congress. What I then promised I am carrying out today.

The purpose of this Instruction is once again to impress upon all of Ours how necessary it is to promote increasingly each day the Sodalities of our Lady and to bring them on to an ever more perfect state. I particularly desire to give to promoters, presidents of secretariates, and directors those practical norms by which they may overcome the principal obstacles that often confront them in the execution of the office entrusted to them.

You should above all keep before your eyes those words which the Supreme Pontiff wrote to us at the beginning of the above-mentioned Congress: "Relying upon the help of God and of His Mother, conscious of the desires and commands of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, putting aside every doubt and hesitation, advance zealously the work of the Sodality of our Lady, as its nature and laws require" (*A.R.* XI, 810).

In these words and in not a few other documents Pius XII clearly shows what great confidence he places not only in the Sodalities of the Blessed Mother but also in those whose natural responsibility it is to promote them.

Even if the Supreme Pontiff had not spoken so frequently and so lucidly of the importance of the Sodality, this same duty would rest upon us from our very vocation. It is enough to consider how ardently many lay persons aspire to a spiritual and apostolic life according to the norms of the true and genuine Sodality of our Lady. A sane and deep devotion to Mary helps much, especially in our times, as experience testifies, to stimulate their zeal. If we have it at heart "to think with the Church," we will earnestly and perseveringly work to support and foster the Sodalities of Our Lady.

I commend myself most earnestly to your Holy Sacrifices and prayers.

Rome, November 21, 1952, Feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The servant of all in Christ,

JOHN BAPTIST JANSSENS,
General of the Society of Jesus

An Instruction on Promoting and Perfecting the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary

I. Selection

1.—In order that Sodalities of our Lady may not be improperly established and affiliated, a prudent period of probation must precede their canonical erection or at least their affiliation. Before a new Sodality is affiliated, a list of questions, drawn up for this purpose, must be filled out by its director (see Appendix).

2.—That apostolic nucleus which we gather together into Sodalities should be a select one, so that only those are received who give solid promise that they will observe faithfully the Common Rules (and particular rules, if any be added) and will not prove unworthy of the profession which Sodalists make in their consecration to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

3.—A careful selection does not mean that a nucleus, and indeed a select one, exercising its apostolate within its own proper bounds, cannot be gathered together and trained from any group of men, even the most humble, in any state of life. For everywhere may be found those who, with the inspiration and help of God's grace, desire and follow a more perfect Christian life, such as is fostered by the Sodality.

4.—Those who, either because of age or of deficient formation or for other reasons, do not yet seem ready for admission into the body of the Sodality, are not for that reason to be deprived of all the formation offered in the Sodality. For various ways may be devised by which a Sodality, while exercising its own apostolate, may inject its apostolic leaven into a larger group. Thus, to give but one example, a Sodality, by means of one of its sections, will be able to promote a less re-

stricted organization which is open to many and in which the faithful in accordance with their ability, may be trained in some of the practices of a more fervent life and apostolic zeal.

5.—As regards younger and immature boys (or girls), these may be received either as "Aspirants," to undergo probation in the Sodality properly so called, even though the time of this probation must be extended beyond the customary period, or, rather, as members of a group which in some way imitates the true Sodality and prepares its associates for eventually becoming members of a Sodality properly so called. A temporary consecration to the Blessed Virgin Mary and a promise to observe some rules concerning the reception of the Sacraments and daily prayer are recommended for these groups (thus, in various places, The Junior Sodality, Blau-Ring, Maria-garde, Sodalities of the Holy Angels, of St. Stanislaus, and the like).

6.—Maturity here is not to be taken so much in the sense of years as in the sense of spiritual and moral capacity to grasp thoroughly the essential rules of the Sodality of our Lady, such as those that treat of making the Spiritual Exercises and meditation, and also in the sense of ability to understand and willingness to accept the perpetual consecration and its consequent obligations.

Each country or region may determine its own minimum age of admission.

7.—According to the spirit of the rules, the practice is to be encouraged whereby the time of probation is not limited to the minimum of two months but is extended so as to afford a greater opportunity to the candidates both for solid training and for the necessary preparation for the perpetual consecration.

II. Ascetic and Apostolic Formation

8.—The director must, before all else, take care that the Sodalists are solidly formed in the interior life, more profoundly instructed in the faith, trained in the assiduous use of prayer and the Sacraments, and in that asceticism as is described in the rules. This training should be carried on with such earnestness and over such a period of time as to give hope that the Sodalists, living among pagans of today,

will not fall away from their purpose of a more perfect life. For the assertion of St. Ignatius, namely, "for they are the interior things from which force must flow to the exterior" (*Const.* P. X. 2 [813]; *Summ. Const.* Reg. 16), applies in like manner to Sodalists as it does to religious.

9.—All Sodalities should exercise the apostolate, either, preferably, as Sodalities and through their sections, or through individual Sodalists sent into other apostolic organizations, if this should seem to be for the greater glory of God, safeguarding always the personal apostolate of all the Sodalists in their daily lives.

10.—Special training should be extended by the director to those who are suited for a higher vocation, i.e., to the religious or priestly state. In this solicitude he should keep in sight the general principle that vocations develop best in a suitable environment or in the association with persons of the highest character.

11.—It is necessary that the director willingly listen to the council of the Sodality and leave to it a greater freedom of action; indeed the lay assistants of the director should be so trained that left to themselves, as in the time of war or persecution, they would be able by themselves to keep the Sodality alive and active.

12.—Among the works of zeal in our time, it is hoped that social action will by no means occupy the last place. Above all it seems that deliberations and actual works involving mutual aid among the different classes of Sodalists should be fostered.

13.—In the Sodality, devotion to Mary differs in nowise from the common, solid devotion of Catholics to Mary; however, in its ardor it should be unparalleled. It should be promoted as most suitable for all purposes, for men and women, old and young: let them learn never to be ashamed to profess it.

III. Mutual Union and Collaboration

14.—It is very much to be desired that there exist among Sodalities of different nations a closer cooperation not only in sending news regarding Sodality activities, but also, should it be desired, in undertaking works calculated to sustain the world-wide "battle front."

15.—It is necessary that our Sodalities, actuated by the spirit of brotherly harmony and of complete subordination to the counsels, wishes, and commands of the universal Church and of the pastors of the dioceses, collaborate in any work of zeal whatever and with any apostolic group. The independence, it is true, with which the Apostolic Constitution *Bis saeculari* endows the Sodalities and wishes kept, must be maintained; but at the same time the Sodalities should, with humility and abnegation, show in word and deed that they are part of the army of the Church.

Sodalists should always be foremost in undertaking whatever bishops order and recommend for their dioceses.

16.—There is no cause whatever to fear that jealous rivalry with Catholic Action or other works may arise, provided only we proceed with that right intention, by which all should be guided, of acting only for the glory of God. On the part of the Sodalities there should never be wanting that spirit of charity and humility by which disagreements are either prevented or settled, while friendship is fostered between the directors of both associations. They should refrain from all controversy, whether written or oral, but should, when occasion demands, set forth the truth with offense to no one.

IV. Federations

17.—It is conducive to the greater glory of God and honor of our Blessed Mother for the Sodalities of the same kind or of the same territory to set up, where possible, a permanent federation with a common council.

18.—No federation should be formed without the consent of superiors, namely of the bishop or of the provincial, who ought also approve the statutes. If Sodalities directed by Ours are to be united in federation to those directed by externs, then the consent and approval of both superiors are required.

19.—In establishing the council for a federation, a certain analogy should be maintained with the establishing of a council for a Sodality itself so that lay persons would be by no means excluded but would rather be given important positions, due dependence toward directors being always safeguarded.

20.—Present day conditions of society seem to demand that the federations, recommended in Rule sixty-eight, so extend

beyond national borders as to constitute a world-wide league. In this way the Sodalities of our Lady will, from their more widely extended union, gather a more abundant harvest and foster a more efficacious cooperation with other world-wide apostolic associations.

V. Promoters

21.—In each province a suitable Father should be assigned to the office of promoter and so designated in the catalogue. He should be entrusted by the provincial with the special care of everything pertaining to our Sodalities. The same should be done in vice-provinces, even though dependent, and in at least the larger missions.

Where one Father is not enough, two or three should be appointed to whom different parts of the province should be assigned; or what is better, to whom the different types of Sodalities should be assigned.

22.—The promoter should be chosen with great care and appointed early enough to enable him to become well acquainted with the teaching and practice of the Sodality. He should be edifying, a man of mature age, obedient to superiors, one capable of being entrusted with much authority, prudent, energetic in undertaking and in completing projects, able to win the friendship of others, and to promote harmony and unity of action.

In order that he may devote himself seriously to his duties, let him be free, as far as possible, from other cares.

23.—The objectives for which the promoter should strive are these:

a) that excellent directors of Sodalities be thoroughly trained. It should be his care, then, in accordance with the power granted him by the provincial or the superior of the mission, that the statutes of the generals concerning the training of Ours, from the novitiate onward, be observed; that, with the consent of the rector, Marian Academies or similar activities be organized in our scholasticates, especially in the houses of philosophy and theology, and that the tertian Fathers be given instructions in this matter. As far as possible, directors should also receive practical training by working

for some time with a Father who is already experienced in the art of directing Sodalities.

b) that our Sodalities be so closely conformed to the desires of the Supreme Pontiff that they may be an example to other Sodalities. Our Sodalists should be conspicuous for the spirituality, the fruitful apostolate, the spirit of collaboration with all, which are especially insisted upon in the Apostolic Constitution *Bis saeculari.*

c) that, although the care of girls and women is by no means to be neglected, Sodalities of men should be promoted beyond all others, particularly of those men who may some day exert influence in public life; Sodalities of workmen are expressly recommended.

d) that he foresee how the good will of externs, especially of prelates, may be won for the Sodalities.

e) that he give careful attention to the truly catholic and universal meaning of the Sodality, and hence foster communication with the Central Secretariate at Rome, by exchange of letters, by sending news items to be published in the world-wide periodical, etc.

f) that he bring about in a practical way a continuity among the various Sodalities, so that their members pass from one to another and, as far as possible, remain throughout their whole lives in some Sodality. Thus, for example, high school Sodalists, going on to a university, should become members of the university Sodality. Then, when their studies are completed or they have married, they should transfer to a men's Sodality. If there are several men's Sodalities (for example, one for men of the armed services, one for professional men, another for craftsmen), they should transfer to the one which best suits their calling.

24.—The promoter should not restrict himself to these more general measures, but should visit the Sodalities and directors and be ready to receive directors who come to him for discussion and consultation.

25.—Since the work of the Sodality is so apostolic and so suited to the needs of the present time, not only directors of Sodalities, but also superiors, teachers, operarii, and indeed

all of Ours, should give their wholehearted assistance to the promoter.

VI. Secretariates

26.—Because the number of Sodalities under the direction of our Society is in most countries small, secretariates should be set up, either national or provincial or regional, as is already laudably done in many nations.

27.—The secretariate (or its president), since it has no authority, can impose no regulations, but exists to assist all those who have any part in the direction of Sodalities.

28.—The secretariate is, as it were, a laboratory for all Sodalities, both ours and those of externs, to assist them by teaching, advising, answering difficulties, giving practical direction, supplying books and periodicals, organizing conventions, and supplying various items, etc.

29.—Let the president of the secretariate exercise approximately the same duties as those assigned to the promoter in numbers 22, 23, and 24, observing, however, due regard for the difference of authority, as is explained in the following number.

30.—Since one and the same Father is usually entrusted with the duties of promoter and of president of the secretariate, he should avoid confusing these functions, so that on the one hand, the provincial, if he wishes, may really, by means of the promoter, govern the Sodalities under our direction, and on the other hand, the secretariate may provide humble service and help to the Sodalities directed by externs when requested to do so.

31.—Since most Sodalities (95%) are directed by the secular clergy, the president of the secretariate should see to it that priests become acquainted with the Sodality and in this way come to esteem it highly. In order that this end be attained, the following principal means should be employed:

a) Sodalities of priests should be promoted;

b) seminarians should understand well the nature of the Sodality and even establish a Sodality among themselves;

c) there should be a monthly magazine for moderators which would offer them instruction, solve their problems, and

present them with practical means for directing Sodalists;

d) occasional meetings of moderators should be held.

VII. External Matters

32.—The name Congregation or Sodality of our Lady, wherever possible, should be retained or restored. When, however, because of evil circumstances, the good of souls demands otherwise, a different name may be employed for ordinary use, including, if possible, the name of Mary and certainly in every case retaining the canonical title of Blessed Virgin Mary at least in juridical documents.

33.—Other external matters which are not essential but merely secondary should not readily be changed because their effectiveness has been proved, very often by long experience; those, however, may safely be changed which clearly stand in the way of a greater good.

Rome, November 21, 1952.

JOHN BAPTIST JANSSENS,
General of the Society of Jesus

APPENDIX

A Draft for Affiliating Sodalities of Our Lady to the Prima Primaria
(a certain form for the use of those who in the various nations have charge of affiliation)

To the Moderator of the Sodality
Reverend Father,

Since the Sodality of which your Reverence is the Moderator desires to be affiliated, according to norm II of the Apostolic Constitution *Bis saeculari*, to the *Prima Primaria* Sodality of the Roman College, I ask your Reverence kindly to answer the following questions, that it may be determined whether your Sodality fulfills the essential conditions set down by the Holy See and common to Sodalities of Our Lady everywhere in the world.

Questions:

1.—Has your Sodality already been validly erected, namely, with a decree granted in writing by a competent Ordinary? At what time? (day, month, year)

2.—Did the Ordinary, moreover, give his consent, and this in writing, that affiliation to the *Prima Primaria* be requested? At what time?

3.—Has your Sodality adopted as its own the Common Rules of the Sodality of Our Lady, the observance of which, in substance at least, is

necessary for obtaining affiliation? If your Sodality has other rules, they should be sent to us.

4.—In the enrollment of Sodalists, are only those selected who, by no means content with the ordinary way of life, are sincerely eager to be so formed in the Sodality that they can be set before their contemporaries as models of Christian life and apostolic zeal?

5.—Are only those enrolled as Sodalists who bind themselves to the Blessed Virgin Mary by a complete and perpetual consecration, by which they promise to fight with all their strength in the Sodality for their own Christian perfection and eternal salvation and for that of others? Are only those submitted to this perpetual consecration who, because of sufficiently mature age and fitting preparation, seem able to understand rightly and fulfill faithfully the obligations of the consecration? What is the minimum age for admission?

6.—Does your Sodality, according to Rule 5 of the Common Rules, hold its meetings once a week or, if extraordinary difficulties prevent this, at least twice a month?

7.—Is an all-embracing apostolate, under obedience to the hierarchy, to spread the kingdom of Christ and defend the rights of the Church, considered among the chief ends of your Sodality?

8.—What works of the apostolate does your Sodality carry on, or in what does it collaborate?

9.—Is the Moderator, legitimately appointed, a priest, so that those who are not priests help in the direction of the Sodality only under his authority?

10.—Is your Sodality, in accordance with its rules, completely dependent on the Hierarchy in all things?

(Place) (Day) (Month) (Year)

(Signature of the Moderator)

* * *

O God, Who, to promote the greater glory of Thy Name, didst strengthen the Church militant with a new army by means of blessed Ignatius, grant that with his help and after his example we may courageously do battle here on earth, and thus deserve to be crowned with him in heaven; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

—from the Mass of St. Ignatius, July 31.

THE CATHOLIC EVIDENCE GUILD OF NEW YORK CITY

NEIL P. HURLEY, S.J.

"Faith then cometh by hearing; and hearing by the word of Christ." (Romans 10:17) As many New Yorkers, who have happened upon a meeting of the Catholic Evidence Guild, will testify, these words of St. Paul are still true today. Perhaps it was at Poe Park in the Fordham area of the upper Bronx, or at 86th St. off Lexington Ave., where the casual passer-by was first attracted by a young lady or gentleman addressing a gathering from a portable platform. As he listened, the curious listener heard the speaker unfold some truth of Catholic teaching in a simple, direct, intelligible manner. Afterwards there followed questions from the crowd. The topic discussed might have been purgatory, or the Real Presence, or the Church and Bible, or the Catholic attitude on labor. But whatever the matter treated, the speaker, though nowise different in appearance from the average pedestrian in the audience, seemed to be serious, polite, and well-informed. In turn, the questions asked by the crowd were quite sincere. A rather revolutionary technique, our listener would reflect, even though he were a Catholic. However, by simple enquiry, his suspicions would be allayed when he discovered that the Cardinal Archbishop of New York, His Eminence Cardinal Spellman, has blessed this street-corner apostolate with his approval, and that the Catholic Evidence Guild for twenty-five years has, in one way or another, carried on the apostolate of spreading God's word.

To compete at Columbus Circle and on street-corners with atheists, Communists, radicals, and intellectual incendiaries of every sort would seem to be a distinct compromise of the Church's dignity and reputation. But the Catholic Evidence Guild has not only disproved the mistaken impression that street-corner preaching befits only an impoverished religion, but it has shown, through its success and the respect it commands, that even in the twentieth century in a metropolis of eight million people the evidences of the faith can be presented just as St. Paul presented them to the Athenians on the hill of the Areopagus or St. Francis Xavier in the streets of Yamaguchi. And indeed, in these two instances, with more visible results.

Foundation of the Guild

Catholic Evidence work in the English-speaking world is not very old. It began in the United States in 1917 when two converts from Socialism, Mrs. Martha Moore Avery and Mr. David Goldstein, took to expounding Catholic doctrine from an outdoor public platform, which later was replaced by an "autovan." With the support of Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston, the "Catholic Truth Guild" was founded with Mrs. Avery as president and Mr. Goldstein as secretary. In England the formation of the Westminster Guild took place on April 24, 1918. Its pitch (i.e., the regular outdoor meeting place) at Marble Arch in London's Hyde Park soon became distinguished by such notable speakers as Father Vincent McNabb, O.P., Maisie Ward and her husband, Frank Sheed. The next thirty-five years witnessed the spread of Evidence Guilds throughout the United States. During this period Guilds were founded in Boston, Baltimore, Washington, Oklahoma, Detroit, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Texas, New York City, New Orleans, Waterbury, Conn., and Hays, Kansas. It is with the growth of the New York City Evidence Guild that we are here concerned.

The Catholic Evidence Guild of New York owes its organization directly to a retreat given at Manresa, Staten Island, to the St. Thomas Aquinas Sodality of Fordham University School of Law in March, 1928. Father Gerald C. Treacy, S.J., the retreat master, insisted on the great need for lay apostles in the modern world. With this inspiration, Messrs. James V. Hayes, Thomas J. Diviney, and Balthasar J. Funke approached their former Professor of Jurisprudence, Father Francis P. LeBuffe, S.J., to ask advice about forming a Catholic Evidence Guild. Following Father LeBuffe's suggestion, these three succeeded in interesting about ten other fellow graduates of the Fordham Law School in their vision. In March, 1928 the first meeting was held at the offices of Messrs. Hayes and Uihlein on 43rd St., New York City, under the direction of Father LeBuffe. Father had long been entertaining a plan to train a group of intelligent lay Catholics in theology with the hope that they could thus exert a greater influence on their own environment. So, in the Providence of God, the moderator, Father LeBuffe, and several young zealous Catholic law-

yers were brought together to give birth to the New York Catholic Evidence Guild.

Two possible methods of procedure were proposed in the beginning: (1) the English Guild method—with the more immediate and functional purpose of preparing speakers for specific topics; (2) Father LeBuffe's own program which aimed at training, on a broad and slow basis, lay theologians well-versed in dogma. The second alternative was unanimously adopted by the group. Father promised his newly-formed Guild that if they gave him one night a week for ten years, he would do something with them. Despite the understandable desire to do immediate apostolic work, the group had to satisfy itself with three years of training in lay theology before the late Patrick Cardinal J. Hayes allowed the group to be active. The Guild's original purpose of street-corner preaching was not judged to be suitable at this time. Instead, the Cardinal encouraged the Guild to undertake radio broadcasts.

As a result, beginning in 1931 and continuing for seven years, Guildsmen gave seven hundred talks on various Catholic doctrines. The broadcasts were given over many stations. Two in particular were Station WMII in Brooklyn, and a New York City Station, WLWL. Some of the titles of talks given then were: "The Sanctity of Marriage," "If Christ Lived Today," "Greed and the New Deal," "Why Ask for Money?" One amusing incident occurred when a radio listener, deceived into thinking that group broadcasts of a supposed meeting at Columbus Circle were real, showed up there for an expected outdoor meeting.

Guild members during this period, though still not engaged in street-corner preaching, taught by the written word as well. They published articles in both Catholic and non-Catholic magazines; wrote and collaborated on pamphlets and letters to editors, public officials, state and national legislative groups. In addition to this, the Guild participated in and conducted talks and group discussions with non-Catholic and Catholic groups. The more important Catholic groups before which talks and discussions were held, were the Knights of Columbus, Holy Name meetings, Communion breakfasts, Newman Clubs, and Sodality organizations. Besides, permis-

sion was obtained from both the New York and Brooklyn Chanceries to address non-Catholic groups anywhere except in a church of another denomination. During this time the meetings of the Guild were moved from the offices of Messrs. Hayes and Uihlein, where they were first held, to the Catholic Club of New York at 120 Central Park South, and later to the Club's new quarters in the Waldorf-Astoria. Meetings for a time were also held at the offices of the America Press.

When permission was finally obtained for outdoor preaching in 1936, the radio work was continued along with the outdoor activity, but it was soon found to be impossible to develop the two techniques simultaneously with any success, especially with small numbers. However the Guild still possesses most of the broadcasts then given and these have served to help Catholic groups all over the world, and particularly in the Philippine Islands. It was during this period that the Guild also gave weekly talks to retreatants at Manresa, Staten Island.

Outdoor Preaching

The Guild's first outdoor meeting was in 1936 at Columbus Circle. The first night that the group went up to the Circle to hear Mr. James V. Hayes give the Guild's maiden talk, it was most apprehensive. Father LeBuffe nervously fingered his beads all the way up from the office of the America Press where he was assigned at the time. From the very start, however, the conduct of the Guildsmen impressed the audience in contrast with the reactionary techniques of other less orderly speakers at the Circle. It was feared at first that the audience might prove unmanageable by urging excessively aggressive difficulties, by heckling and, all in all, by disregarding the rules of the Guild. These provide that the speaker talk for ten or twelve minutes uninterruptedly with the remaining hour dedicated to questions germane to the topic being discussed. However with very few exceptions the audience has always abided by the Guild's program. Once in the early '40's at a meeting on the corner of 11th St. and 2nd Ave., a Communistic neighborhood at the time, the crowd became antagonistic to Harold W. Abrams, a Guildsman who was denouncing Communism. One Guild member distinctly heard someone utter the threat: "If I had a gun, I'd shoot you."

However, by the grace of God, the difficult situation resolved itself, and the Guild was deprived of its first martyr.

Wherever talks have been given by the Guild, whether in the Bronx, or Manhattan, or Staten Island, the audience has always been respectful. The American sense of fair play undoubtedly is the reason. Once when a speaker was explaining annulment and divorce, an objector posed a difficulty on the existence of God. Despite the speaker's insistence that the question was outside the range of the topic discussed, the questioner was relentless. The crowd then intervened, murmuring: "That's not her subject," to which the undaunted objector replied: "I want to learn something about God." With that, the crowd dispatched the persistent fellow, giving him the well-known "bum's rush." Following this the crowd returned to press home its difficulties against the Church's position on annulment and divorce.

It was in the Fall of 1935 and the early part of 1936, as a result of a series of lectures on religion to the alumnae of the College of New Rochelle, that Father LeBuffe, assisted by Miss Mary T. Shaughnessy (now Mother Mary Celeste, O.S.U.), resolved to form a women's Catholic Evidence Guild. The first members consisted of alumnae of New Rochelle College, about sixty in all. However, at the first meeting of the women's Guild, it was decided to open the group to all women graduates of Catholic colleges. Most of the original members dropped out when preparations for talks were assigned.

Although the women's Guild co-existed for two years with the men's, Father LeBuffe finally judged it best to consolidate both groups into one. To avoid duplication of time and energy, and to preserve Father LeBuffe's health, the men, who had earlier opposed having women in their Guild, consented to this move. At first it was thought that the women would not speak on the street-corners, but later this decision was reversed. The women had helped the men in their work on the radio, and with Miss Mary Shaughnessy's appearance at Columbus Circle in the summer of 1939, they took their part in the street preaching as well. Needless to say, they have provided some excellent speakers, and it is because of them that during the war, when most of the men were in service or out of the city, the Guild still functioned normally.

Because of the Catholic Club's rule excluding women, the Guild now moved to the Woolworth Building and the new quarters provided by the Fordham University School of Education. When Fordham moved from the Woolworth Building the Guild accepted the hospitality of the Fordham School of Social Service on East 39th St., near Lexington Ave. But due to the growth of the School's enrollment the Guild was again obliged to vacate. This time it moved to the Parish House Annex on East 83rd St., next to St. Ignatius' Church at 980 Park Ave. Meetings were held in this Parish House Annex for about three years.

A New Home

It was then that the Guild moved to its present location at 113 East 85th St. in the Convent of the Helpers of the Holy Souls. The story behind this move is as follows. Rev. Mother Mary St. Anne and Mother Mary Loyola (who as Louise Mooney had been a member of the Guild) asked Father LeBuffe if his Guild would help the Sisters in their instruction of converts. Father, who had long dreamed of a Catholic Information Center, proposed this as a counter-plan. As a result, a room in the rear of the Convent on 85th St. was placed at the disposal of the Guild. Yeoman service was rendered by both the men and women Guild members in readying this room for occupancy. The walls were washed and painted; the floors were scrubbed and scraped; the woodwork was stained.

Now the problem was: how could the room be furnished and equipped with a library? Again the arm of the Lord was not shortened. The Young Women's Catholic Club was closing at the time, and through the generous co-operation of Miss Constance Armstrong, a desk, some chairs, and bookcases were provided. Other furniture was donated by friends of the Sisters. An appeal by Father LeBuffe himself to Fordham, St. Andrew-on-Hudson, and other Jesuit houses, as well as to convents and personal friends whom he contacted in his travels as Regional Secretary of Sodalities, brought many necessary books on doctrinal, apologetic, ascetical, and other subjects pertaining to the faith.

On April 1, 1951 the Center was opened, and it has been the meeting place of the Guild since that time. The Center is open

every evening Monday through Saturday from 7:00 P.M. to 9:30 P.M. and on Sunday from 3:30 P.M. to 9:30 P.M. The members of the Guild take turns working each evening at the Center. This group is known as the Catholic Evidence Auxiliary and numbers approximately twelve members.

It is here that, during the winter months from September to May, Father LeBuffe each Monday evening conducts the training meetings in preparation for the summer street-corner meetings. The outdoor program is confined to the period of mid-May to mid-September, since speaking in the chill evening air brings loss of voice. At the indoor training meetings the Guild is given the wherewithal to present the important doctrinal teachings of the Church in a clear and engaging manner for non-Catholic listeners primarily. It is well to remember that none of the members is required to be a trained theologian or an accomplished orator, though some do obtain quite a bit of proficiency—laywise—in both fields.

The usual requirements for membership in the Guild are: (1) a desire to spread God's Kingdom among men by means of the spoken word; (2) an average degree of responsibility and intelligence; (3) some ability and poise in public speaking (though this may be acquired by practice, if the other conditions are satisfied); and (4) fidelity as a Catholic, of course. The meeting, open to both members and those interested in becoming members, is begun by Father LeBuffe with the following prayer, composed by a member of long standing, Mr. John E. McAniff:

> St. Paul, help us in our work on the street-corner, to see in every aimless question, a human soul groping in the dark for truth; in every conceited declaration, a human soul desperately grasping for the dignity of which it has been robbed; in every aggressive challenge, a human soul steeped in the conflict between this world and the next; in every angry denial, a human soul shrinking from the Sacrifice of the Cross; in every false statement a human soul misled by false prophets; in every scornful laugh, a human soul deprived of the only Real Joy; and in every listener, the image and likeness of God. Amen.

On his last visit to Rome in 1950, Father LeBuffe arranged to have a framed copy of this beautiful prayer of the Guild hung on the wall of the sacristy of the Basilica of St. Paul's Outside the Walls. This prayer was first presented by Mr.

McAniff, then president of the New York Catholic Evidence Guild, at the Eighth Annual Convention of the National Catholic Evidence Conference held at Cincinnati, Ohio, on November 4, 1939 in his address entitled "The Catholic Evidence Guild on the Street Corner."

In Training

After the reading of the Guild's prayer, the meeting is under way. The first of the two hours is given over to Father LeBuffe, who instructs the Guild in the dogmatic teachings of the faith. Father has a rare gift of crystallizing the abstruse and formal tracts in theology for the benefit of lay minds. Like Monsieur Jourdain in Molière's play, who had been talking prose all his life without realizing it, Father LeBuffe exclaims: "Here I have been teaching kerygmatic theology for twenty-five years without knowing it." Although Father LeBuffe's booklet, *Let's Look at Sanctifying Grace,* might be called the textbook of the course, still Father does not confine himself to any curriculum or definite schedule of instruction. Granting to the Guild the large liberty of the children of God, Father LeBuffe does not restrict questions. Any questions—on the subject or off it—may be and usually are asked. As a result, over the years Father has traversed many diverse fields: angelology; the theology of the sacraments—both of the Old Law and the New; the metaphysics of the Trinity; sanctifying grace; Liturgy; Church history; missiology; Mariology and Christology; eschatology; phases of Canon Law and Moral Theology; as well as other sundry points of dogma and philosophy.

Of course, these points are not treated with the scientific precision that is required in the theological tracts as taught in a seminary. There the more difficult and obscure questions of the faith are stressed (e.g., the problem of grace and free will). Since the Guild has a different objective, Father LeBuffe, in his talks, rather accents the more fundamental points of the Church's dogma, with less emphasis on logical unity. The treatment of the Church's truths, in short, is more Pauline than Thomistic in its form of presentation. Father LeBuffe unfolds the Kingdom of God for his Guild members: incorporation and redemption in Christ; the modes of God's

indwelling in the soul; the sacramental system; the meaning of our baptism; the share that sanctifying grace gives in God's very life.

The consequence of this unique course of instruction has been that over a period of time the Guild begins to perceive the grandiose plan of God, Who in Christ wishes to draw all men to Him. The "Glad Tidings" of Christ's coming, taught with unction by a holy and learned priest to an exemplary group of Catholic laymen, has produced a remarkable effect on the personal sanctity of the lives of the Guild members. As Father LeBuffe himself has remarked: "It is amazing how much the Guild has deepened spiritually under the impact of the dogma." It is this first hour of the meeting that attracts the members and the members-to-be. Any member of the Guild will agree that Father LeBuffe's disquisitions in theology and scholastic philosophy, with questions interspersed by the Guild, are the real soil in which the devotional and the intellectual life of the street-corner apostle takes root and develops.

Apart from the importance of helping the Church to combat anti-Catholic prejudices and explain the reasonableness of the Faith, the Guild's success, with God's help, has been largely due to the invaluable training that most laymen would find difficult to obtain anywhere else. The interior relish and the personal realization that comes from prolonged consideration of the inspiring truths of revelation and of God's redemptive plan are the most tangible rewards that accrue to a Guild member. From the very start, the Guild's program has had a delicate balance between theory and practice as well as between the personal sanctification of each and the correlative obligation to communicate their faith—the pearl of great price—to others. In large measure this balance has been the psychological key to the Guild's success under God.

During the second hour of the meeting, practice talks are given by the members themselves. At this point the Guild turns into a hostile street-corner crowd. Although actual conditions are only simulated, giving the appearance of mock combat, the Guild's objections are naturally more barbed and subtle than those of the average American pedestrian. Needless to say, whoever successfully survives this "baptism under

fire" is quite assured of being prepared to meet the real foe, who is, of course, usually less astute. At least two practice talks must be given: one before the entire Guild itself; the other before a special board of examiners which determines the speaker's competence to represent the Guild and the Church, too, in public. The meetings are brought to a close with the following prayer, also composed by Mr. McAniff:

> St. Paul, we dedicate to you the Catholic Evidence Guild of New York. Alone we can do nothing, but through your intercession before the throne of Almighty God may we bring to those who are in darkness a small ray of the blinding light which you saw on the road to Damascus. We humbly ask your patronage and assistance and the grace to follow your example. Amen.

The Guild has always paid its own way by means of the contributions of its members at the end of each meeting. In accordance with Father LeBuffe's desire to keep "red tape" and organization at a minimum, the government of the Guild is purposely simple. The honorary president is Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York. Father LeBuffe has been moderator for twenty-five years. In addition, there is a board of directors, and an executive committee of three who act with the moderator's approval. A secretary takes care of the necessary correspondence, purchases, the drafting of the speaker's schedule each season. There has never been any rivalry for official positions or the least attempt at self-advancement. On the contrary, it was found necessary to make it a Guild rule that no one should refuse an office once proffered. The simplicity of the Guild's structure and the informality that has always prevailed has created strong bonds of personal loyalty between Father LeBuffe and the members, and also among the members themselves. In fact some members have met their spouses through the Guild meetings. The *esprit de corps* is exceptional, and one might truly say that the Guild is more an organism than an organization.

In 1933 a National Catholic Evidence Conference was launched, with Cardinal Hayes' permission, at the old Catholic Club building at 120 Central Park South, New York City. Mr. James V. Hayes was elected its first president.

Co-Workers

Later on, in 1936, Mr. Edwin J. Duffy (now Father Duffy), then a senior at Holy Cross College, joined the Guild. Upon graduation he entered St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie in Yonkers, N. Y., and began to interest his fellow seminarians in the work of the Guild. Consequently in the 1937-38 season, the seminarians joined the lay members in their street-corner program during the summers. The two groups, lay and seminarian, have grown very close together. Each year two meetings are held at the Seminary in Yonkers. Both groups participate. The first meeting, held in the spring, has for its purpose to plan the summer work. The one in the fall reviews the summer program and pools the experiences of all for everyone's mutual benefit.

From time to time, courses of lectures for prospective converts are given at the Information Center by Father James E. Rae from Dunwoodie, and some other priests who, like Father Rae, were Guild members as seminarians. These lectures were begun in the summer of 1950 and though the attendance was small, the earnestness and sincerity of those who came compensated for the absence of numbers. Guild members generously attended in order to be able to greet those who attended the lectures. Father Rae, who is professor of dogmatic theology at Dunwoodie, along with the other diocesan priests has helped the Guild immensely in this work.

Besides the street-corner work and the early radio broadcasts, other fruit has been derived from the Guild's activities. We have already mentioned the group discussions and lectures which the Guild conducted for the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, the Sodalities, the Knights of Columbus, and other Catholic groups. In addition, classes of instruction were conducted at one time for Catholic students at Columbia and New York University. Also, in the early days of the formation of the Jesuit labor schools of the Metropolitan Area, the Guild played a definite role. Guildsmen taught at three labor schools: the one at St. Francis Xavier High School at 16th St. in New York City; the second, at St. Peter's College in Jersey City; the third, at the Crown Heights Labor School in Brooklyn. In fact, when Father William J. Smith, S.J., began the Crown Heights Labor School, he approached Father Le-

Buffe with the problem of forming a faculty. Father called a luncheon meeting at which Messrs. Hayes, Brenner, McAghon, and Atkinson were present. After the meeting, Father Smith turned to Father LeBuffe and said, "I have three-fourths of my faculty already." One of these men, Mr. O'Brien Atkinson, a retired advertising man, was a vital force, during his twelve years with the Guild, in training its members in the technique of preparing a speech. To this end he wrote a pamphlet entitled *Broadcasting Your Talk* which was published by the Paulist Press. Later, he enlarged this into a book entitled *How to Make Us Want Your Sermon.* This book sold over five thousand copies for its publisher, John F. Wagner, and even now is still quite a favorite with the clergy throughout the United States. With Mr. Atkinson's death, Miss Isabelle Mullen has carried on the all-important task of training the Guild's street-corner apostles.

From its inception, a yearly retreat has been insisted upon for the Guild members. At first these retreats were held at Manresa and then at Morristown, New Jersey. However, when the Guild admitted women, permission was obtained from the late Bishop Griffin of Trenton and from the nuns at Georgian Court College, to give a joint retreat for both men *and* women at the College. The first retreat of this type was held in 1942 and was very probably the first such group retreat for men and women ever held anywhere in the world. The men lived in one of the residence halls and the women in another. Strict silence is insisted upon and has always been observed to the great edification of the nuns and newcomers. Guild members may bring friends provided that they observe the complete retreat silence enjoined on all.

Another spiritual hypodermic that the Guild avails itself of is an idea which Father LeBuffe hit upon. It is the half-day of recollection. Three or four times a year at the Convent of the Helpers of the Holy Souls, under the usual retreat conditions of strict silence, the Guild observes the following order: at 8:15 A.M. Mass; at 9:00 breakfast with reading; at 10:00 a conference; at 11:00 another conference; at 11:45 benediction; at 12:00 out and home for the family Sunday dinner. This half-day of recollection has had great success and offers great possibilities for other Catholic groups.

Pioneers

The influence of the Guild, through God's grace, has been far reaching, especially as its members have moved to other sectors of the country. The pioneering spirit of the Guild members is ever alive. As Father LeBuffe insists: "Once the smoke of battle gets in your nostrils you can never be the same." For instance, four ex-Guild members, Mr. Louis J. Abrams, his wife—the former Rita Murphy, Harold Abrams, and Lyons T. Carr moved to the Camden diocese, and only last year, with Bishop Eustace's approval, inaugurated a new Catholic Evidence Guild. Their first street-corner work took place in the summer of 1952. The meetings were held on Friday evenings and the New York City group supplied one speaker each week, although the Camden Guild paid all expenses. Despite the competition of the Jehovah's Witnesses from the opposite corner, armed as they were with both an organ and a public address system, the Guild still held its own. All in all the season was quite successful.

Another outgrowth of the New York City Guild's activities has been the founding of a Catholic Evidence Guild in Columbus, Georgia, by Mr. George Gingell and his wife. Mr. Gingell moved south to take charge of radio station WRBL, and his one-man radio crusade against bigotry in Georgia has been inspiring. Another Guildsman, Mr. William Maday, has done remarkable work in Polish over radio station WLIB ever since 1949, while other Guild members have begun discussion groups and Catholic action groups in the neighborhoods to which they have moved.

The seminarians of St. Joseph's in Yonkers render invaluable aid to the Guild. A number of vocations have been fostered among members of the Guild, both to the sisterhood and the priesthood. A rough estimate reveals one Ursuline Sister, one Good Shepherd, one Charity nun, two Cenacle nuns, two Helpers of the Holy Souls, a Missionary Father of Lyons, and two Jesuits. One, the author, belonged to the Guild for two years (1945-47) and participated in the Guild's outdoor preaching program for two seasons. The other Jesuit, Father Myer F. Tobey, was ordained this past June at Woodstock College in Maryland. We have every reason to believe that we have as intercessors before the Heavenly Throne seven members of

the Church Triumphant: Balthasar J. Funke, Thomas Nolan, Daniel Boyle, John Molanphy, Francis Brady, Paul Dearing, and O'Brien Atkinson. Paul Dearing worked for N.C.W.C. War Relief in the Empire State Building. He was killed in the ill-fated airplane crash that happened in the summer of 1945. Only the evening before he had been preaching the word of Christ to a suffering world.

Over the twenty-five year history of the Guild, a number of priests have generously taken over Father LeBuffe's place when he was absent, due to travel or illness. In 1930, when Father LeBuffe was hospitalized for some months, Father Charles I. Doyle, S.J., acted as moderator. Later, in 1945-46, Father Stephen V. Duffy, S.J., carried on the work for a while. And again in 1950 when Father LeBuffe was called to Rome, Father James E. Rae of St. Joseph's Seminary kindly acted as temporary moderator for three months. Father Florence Sullivan, S.J., also filled in for Father LeBuffe.

Two very recent developments indicate the further growth and spread of the Guild's influence. In 1951 Father McTigue, O.P., professor of theology at Albertus Magnus College, New Haven, Conn., consulted Father LeBuffe on his religion course. He wanted to know how he might further the interests of the students therein. As a result of Father LeBuffe's suggestion for a modified Catholic Evidence Guild during the second year, the young ladies of Albertus Magnus are seriously training for work with the New York City Guild in the summertime.

The second noteworthy development is the establishment at Fordham University in the Bronx of a student branch of the Guild by Mr. Philip Nicolaides, a member of the Guild who is doing graduate studies at the University. With the assistance of Mr. Avery Dulles, S.J., and Father Herbert D'Souza, S.J., who conducts the training there during the year, the young Fordham students are being equipped to participate in the Guild's outdoor program.

We have seen then that the fruit of the New York City Catholic Evidence Guild has been varied and rich. Like all things spiritual there is much that cannot be grasped with ten fingers. Nevertheless the fruit of the Guild's apostolate is evident. Although no satisfactory answer can be given to the inevitable and oft-repeated question: "How many converts do

you make?" still the Guild is confident that it has won much good will for the Church and its teachings. No serious doubt exists that many people, who before entertained preconceived and biased notions of the Church's doctrines, have jettisoned their prejudicial beliefs because of the polite conduct, the sane exposition, and the earnestness of the Guild members.

Many Catholics, too, are deeply impressed that the Church takes such direct means to eliminate ignorance and bigotry, even though many at first are wary of the group's right to represent the Church. One real incident will illustrate the effect that the apostolate of the Guild exercises on Catholics. While on her way home from shopping, one woman, weighted down with groceries, for a long while stood, bundles and all, to hear the Guild, so pleased was she that her Church was not taking a back seat to Communism in zealous presentation of its teachings. The Catholic Evidence Guild serves a definite need, one that was foreseen by our Blessed Lord Himself—"Going forth, teach all nations."

Inner Growth

Actually, the most tangible results from the activities of the Guild are found in the members themselves. Since they are forced by the nature of the work to examine critically Catholic dogma at its deeper and richer levels, it is only natural that an assimilation of the doctrine in this way should lead to a greater awareness and love of God's revealed truths and His teaching Church. The Guild member must ponder and meditate the truths of the Church if he thinks it worth preaching to others. Undoubtedly, the generosity and prayer-life of each Guild member wins from the Holy Spirit a special unction which renders these truths a matter of the heart as well as of the intellect. What more efficacious way is there of deepening one's love and knowledge of the faith and its mysteries than to discover Christianity through the Church's official sources with intention of transmitting this knowledge to others? *Contemplata tradere aliis*—this has been the set purpose of the New York City Evidence Guild: a remarkable group of some fifty-five average American citizens who are spiritually extraordinary. Many are daily communicants. Their ordi-

nary temporal rôles include secretaries, nurses, students, housewives, Wall St. lawyers, and school teachers.

The years of zealous apostolic endeavor, the intense faith in a work with little visible results, the prayerful study of the wonderful message of divine grace, generosity and loyalty and often self-sacrifice—all of these have left their mark, the mark of the "insignes"—on the Guild members. "The Spirit breatheth where He will," our Blessed Saviour has told us (John 3:8). And in this particular instance it happens to be on the street-corners of the metropolis of the world. With St. Paul the Guild members can say: "For I am not ashamed of the gospel. For it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth . . ." (Romans 1:16). The Guild has well earned the high praise bestowed on it by His Eminence Cardinal Spellman (then Archbishop) when, addressing the Catholic Evidence Conference, held on November 16 and 17 in 1940 at the Hotel Commodore, he said: "You men and women taking part in this work are engaged in a truly apostolic work. You are doing work exemplified by Christ and His Apostles. You are messengers of the gospel, messengers of truth. We are proud of the New York Evidence Guild . . ."

And on April 26, 1953 when the members of the Catholic Evidence Guild of New York, together with their moderator, Father Francis P. LeBuffe, united to celebrate their first quarter of a century of sowing God's word, they, too, could justifiably be proud.

* * *

O God, Who for the defence of the Catholic faith didst arm Thy blessed confessor Peter with virtue and learning, grant in Thy loving kindness that through his example and counsel, those who have gone astray may return to the way of salvation, and the faithful remain constant in their allegiance to the truth; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

—from the Mass of St. Peter Canisius, April 27.

DOCTRINE OF FATHER JEROME NADAL ON THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES OF ST. IGNATIUS

JOSEPH F. X. ERHART, S.J.

The scope of this paper is to discuss some ideas of Father Jerome Nadal on the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. In studying the Exercises Father Nadal's authority is of great value. This is evident from the fact that he was officially appointed by St. Ignatius to give the authentic interpretation of them in all the houses of Spain and Portugal.[1]

The chief document by Nadal is a controversial one. About 1550 the Archbishop of Toledo obtained a copy of the Exercises and gave it to some Dominican Fathers for examination. Certain passages of the Exercises were severely criticized as allegedly being too much like the teachings of the "Alumbrados." The criticisms were actually written by Father Melchior Cano and Father Thomas de Pedroche, professor of Theology in the College of St. Peter Martyr in Toledo. There is no record of Cano's work, but Pedroche's violent attack is preserved in the *Monumenta Historica.*[2] It was in answer to Pedroche that Nadal undertook to write an Apology of the Exercises. This Apology lay in manuscript for more than three centuries in the dust of the archives, and was discovered and published (1895, 1905) by the editors of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu.*[3] We shall be concerned with this Apology.

In his attack[4] Pedroche quotes a passage and proceeds to censure it. In his reply[5] Nadal, having repeated the text and censure, not only gives a direct answer, but often takes occasion to give lengthy explanations of the idea in question.

Before speaking of the Exercises, Pedroche has a few things to say about St. Ignatius. He says that Ignatius was cited by the Inquisition for heresy, that he was a Quietist ("uno de los dejados, y alumbrados"), and that he fled to Rome to escape the Inquisitors.[6] Referring to the Society's boast that the Exercises were composed by Ignatius not so much with the aid of books, as with the unction of the Holy Spirit, and from his own experience and practice,[7] Pedroche voices his suspicion of a Spaniard of so little learning that he could write (not in Latin) but only in vernacular Spanish. Besides he sees a

likeness to the "Alumbrados" who exaggerate the importance of private inspiration.[8] Furthermore the title of the order, "Society of Jesus," is proud, schismatical, and injurious to the whole of Christian society. Reserving this title to Jesuits relegates the rest of men, by implication, to the society of the devil.[9] Nadal answers[10] these reproaches in handy and sometimes amusing fashion. We shall pass over his reply and proceed to the criticism of the Exercises themselves.

Who Should Make the Exercises?

Text. The Exercises are not to be given to everyone indiscriminately.[11]

Censure. If they are an excellent short cut to perfection, why are the Exercises restricted? If they are blighted with error and superstition, why are they permitted to endure in hiding?[12]

Reply. The Society does not claim that the Exercises are a short cut to perfection. The Church wants publication restricted, wants the Exercises explained and given by Jesuits, lest they be misunderstood. One making the Exercises needs a guide. They are given to everyone who wants them, and to those whom we think will use them properly. Nadal adds that if Pedroche thinks the Exercises are no good, he should advise that as few as possible see them.[13]

Length of Exercises

Text. The Exercises should be concluded in thirty days more or less.[14]

Censure. By what authority does Ignatius say thirty days is enough for spiritual exercises? Does he find it in Scripture, in the lives or writings of the saints? It is a wonder that Christ, the Evangelists, St. Paul and the other Apostles didn't discover these exercises, which in such a short time, so easily, so efficaciously suffice for perfection.[15]

Reply.[16] Before answering directly, Nadal takes this opportunity to give a general explanation of the purpose of the Exercises. The name of spiritual exercises is applied to any method of preparing and disposing the soul to free itself from inordinate affections, and after it has freed itself from them, to seek the will of God concerning the ordering of life for the

salvation of one's soul.[17] This is obviously the purpose of the meditations, examens, confession, Holy Communion, and election.[18] It is certainly not claimed that one emerges from the Exercises confirmed in perfection.

Here Nadal makes an important fundamental point. To give the Exercises is to preach the Gospel.[19] "Repent for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand."[20] This is the message of Christ; this is the message of the Exercises. The first part of the Exercises leads the soul to contrition and penance for sin. The General Confession, which puts off the old man and puts on the new, is followed by Holy Communion, which unites us to the Kingdom of Heaven. In the last three weeks, the meditations on the life of Christ teach the Kingdom of Heaven, the life of the spirit. Likewise the Exercises try to start the exercitant off on the three ways of the spiritual life, the purgative, the illuminative, and the unitive. In this framework, with the help of various rules, and under the retreat master's guidance, the exercitant is prepared for the election.

Then Nadal gives a direct answer to the question of why thirty days.[21] We don't make an arbitrary time-schedule of spiritual progress. We simply establish a logical order for the consideration of certain divine truths. Experience has taught that thirty days more or less is an apt period of time for these particular considerations. After all, a retreat has to end sometime. It is the formality of a retreat that is limited to thirty days. If the exercitant wishes to continue, he may devote his entire life to prayer. As a further defense[22] Nadal appeals to tradition, reminding the reader of how the Church is accustomed to assign certain numbers of days for fasting, prayers, alms, visits to Churches, length of novitiate, etc.

11th Annotation

Text. "It is of advantage to him who is receiving the Exercises of the first week, that he should know nothing of what he has to do in the second week."[23]

Censure. It is false and imprudent to say that knowledge of what leads to perfection can impede the acquisition of perfection. It is vain and superstitious to say that ignorance of the means to perfection will help towards perfection.[24]

Reply.[25] Nadal points out the wisdom of this annotation.

St. Ignatius wanted the retreatant to concentrate on one thing at a time. Many important truths are proposed for consideration, but the peculiar strength of the Exercises derives from their logical order.

It is against the background of the end of creatures and the end of man that one best sees how reasonable are the principles of indifference and *tantum quantum*. Then he is best able to see the ugliness of sin and is disposed for real sorrow.

In the second week, when inordinate affections have been put aside, the life of Christ is studied as a concrete example of the positive side of perfection. The 11th Annotation stresses the idea that the second week will be more profitable if the proposed fruit of the previous meditations has first been attained.

Pedroche's objection may come from an improper emphasis on knowledge as a fruit of prayer, whereas the Exercises are built on the theory that the chief fruit of prayer is in the operations of the will.[26] Nadal adds that even if knowledge were the chief fruit of prayer, the best approach still would be to concentrate on one thing at a time. Suppose the retreatant were given the matter of all the exercises on the first day![27]

Length of Each Meditation

Text. The exercitant should occupy himself for at least an hour in each of the five Exercises that will be made each day.[28]

Censure. It is foolish and superstitious to say that an hour suffices for perfection. One hour's time may be good for some, harmful to others.[29]

Reply.[30] Nadal's reply is summed up in one concise sentence, "I have told you a thousand times . . . in the Exercises we seek the beginnings of perfection; they don't necessarily establish a man in the state of perfection."[31] It has been a practice in the Church, and especially in religious orders to have a definite time prescribed for prayer. The hour is urged as a minimum, but the exercitant is free to go longer. If a man isn't thought fit to make the Exercises, or if he just can't spare the time, then a half-hour or any other amount is allowed. The great value lies in the merit that can be gained from holding out for an hour if the prayer seems to be unsuccessful.

Function of Retreat Master

Text. "He who gives the Exercises must not incline him who receives them more to poverty or to a vow, than to their contraries, nor to one state or manner of life, more than to another: for although outside the Exercises we may lawfully . . . nevertheless, during the time of the Spiritual Exercises, when the soul is seeking the Divine will, it is better and more fitting that its Creator and Lord Himself communicate with the devout soul . . . so that he who gives the Exercises must himself not be influenced or inclined to one side or another, but keeping as it were in equilibrium like a balance, allow the Creator to act immediately with the creature, and the creature with its Creator and Lord."[32]

Censure.[33] You don't allow preaching or persuasion to elect some particular good, but let the retreatant follow the interior urging of the Holy Spirit. If such counsel is profitable outside retreat, why not during retreat? To urge a man to prescind from all spiritual writing and teaching, and to commit himself to interior inspiration—this is Quietism. It is rash, scandalous, and heretical.

Reply.[34] Nadal admonishes Pedroche that he misinterprets the Exercises: ". . . must not incline . . ." is explained in the second part of the Annotation, "it is better and more fitting . . ." We have here an exposition of the function of the retreat master.

The Exercises usually are concerned with electing a state of life.[35] But they are not given in the same way to everyone. If a person is judged unfit for the religious life, or if he already has a vocation, we don't propose the election to him in the same way, but simply propose some meditations. If he has already decided to enter religion, we try to strengthen that resolution.

But those who are undecided and desire help can greatly profit from the Ignatian election. First of all the soul must be cleansed (Principle and Foundation, Confession, etc.) in order that the exercitant can see the truth clearly. Sinners can see the truth clearly, but only speculatively, not practically, not with the heart and affections. We seek not simply knowledge of the life to be lived, but knowledge joined with a strong

desire to take up that life. This knowledge is best sought in meditations on the life of Christ, which are adapted to making an election. During these meditations one prays for help to make the proper election.

The point of this 15th Annotation is that the director should not interfere with the free workings of grace. It is hoped that the retreatant, properly disposed, submissive to God's will, and humbly praying for divine guidance, will be rewarded with the grace to know God's will. During prayer the retreatant consults God and not the retreat master. All the spiritual wisdom of the Church is employed to launch the exercitant into his meditation. And after the meditation the director examines and judges the experience and advises accordingly; but during the actual meditation the exercitant is on his own with God. It is only *inter exercitia ipsa* that the director stays in the background. At all other times he is available for consultation and advice.

Thus the charge of Quietism is unfounded. In their prayer the Quietists neglect the ordinary natural and supernatural means and presumptuously expect private inspiration, whereas the Exercises bring to bear all the treasures of theology and human learning in disposing the exercitant to beg for grace. Finally Nadal suggests that Pedroche would better appreciate the Exercises if he spent some time in making them instead of attacking them.

Indifference

Text. "Debemus absque differentia nos habere circa res creatas omnes, prout libertati arbitrii nostri subjectae sunt et non prohibitae."[36] "Quod in nobis est non quaeramus sanitatem magis quam aegritudinem." "Quod in nobis est honorem contemptui non praeferamus."

Censure. In a lengthy criticism Pedroche undertakes to prove that the notion of indifference is contrary to Scripture, to the natural law, and to the end of irrational creatures.

Regarding riches, poverty, and the necessities of life, Scripture does not teach men to be indifferent, but just the opposite: ". . . and for my state of life, be neither poverty mine nor riches. Grant me only the livelihood I need."[37] Having food and sufficient clothing, with these let us be content."[38]

This principle is against the natural law, which inclines men differently towards different things. The inclination to love one's friends differs from the inclination to love an enemy. Naturally one loves himself and family more than others. And a man simply is not naturally indifferent to his own life, to reputation, fame, and wealth. Since Ignatian indifference runs counter to these natural inclinations, it is against the natural law.

Thirdly, indifference is contrary to the very nature of irrational creatures, which in greatly different ways contribute to man's well-being. Consider for example the utility of the heavens, elements, farm-products, as compared with fleas, mosquitoes, and bats.

The Ignatian doctrine of indifference is based on a false premise, namely: all created things are of equal help to man in attaining his end. From this it would follow correctly but falsely that we should make ourselves indifferent to all created things.

Concerning sickness and health the natural law impels men to stay healthy and avoid sickness. Besides, good health more than sickness helps man to attain his end. Therefore men should do all they can to enjoy good health. Two considerations confirm this position. First, God made man healthy rather than infirm. Secondly, good health *per se* is useful to man; whereas only *per accidens* is sickness of any value. Therefore, contrary to Ignatius, we should wish for health rather than for sickness. Otherwise we would select food and other means calculated to impair health rather than the best means to conserve it. Likewise, against all our instincts, we would prefer the mutilation of our bodies rather than keeping them sound.

In the matter of honor and dishonor, Pedroche claims that indifference would be against the natural law and against those texts of Scripture[39] which extol the value of a good name.

Reply.[40] Before answering the objections Nadal proposes to explain and prove the notion of indifference. This he does after the manner of a thesis in Scholastic theology. Here as all through this document, Nadal wishes primarily to demonstrate with the precision of the School the orthodoxy of the proposition that has been censured.[41]

In his declaration of the thesis, Nadal notes that the word *"quapropter"* ("quapropter debemus absque differentia, etc.") indicates that indifference is a conclusion from what precedes in the Foundation. This is taken up in the proof. *"Debemus"* means *debitum ex consilio,* not *debitum ex praecepto,* because all the Exercises are a matter of counsel, and therefore one who is not indifferent in making his election does not necessarily sin, but it is better to use it. *"Circa res creatas omnes"*: we are so to join our wills to God and to the foundation (end of man and of other creatures) that we desire and elect nothing except with regard to God's will. *"Absque differentia . . ."*: in electing creatures we should allow no preference for one above another, insofar as it is left to the liberty of our free will to do so and is not forbidden. Besides what is positively prescribed and forbidden, God left a great number of means indifferent, in order that we might choose among them with merit to ourselves. We should not fail to be indifferent towards those things which God left indifferent.

After this exposition of terms Nadal proposes a series of proofs,[42] from Scripture, Tradition,[43] and reason. Of these we will give here only a summary of the section[44] where he shows how indifference is a conclusion from the first part of the Foundation.

In the Foundation the first principle is that man was created to praise, reverence, and serve God, and by this means to save his soul. The second principle is that the other things on the face of the earth are created for man, and to help him in the prosecution of the end for which he was created. From these principles two conclusions are drawn. The first contains a rule of conduct: whence it follows that man is to make use of creatures insofar as they help him towards his end; and he ought to withdraw from them insofar as they hinder him from it. The second conclusion is a consequence of this rule on the use and avoidance of creatures: wherefore we must make ourselves indifferent to all created things . . . desiring and choosing only that which better leads us to the end for which we were created. In what is left to our free choice we should not desire or elect any means according to our own preference; but we should seek God's will in the matter, and our selection of means should be motivated by a loving desire to

fulfill God's will. We should not be universally (*in universali*) indifferent, because works of supererogation and counsel should always be praised and preferred to their contraries. The doctrine applies in particular cases, in the election of a particular means. The deciding factor in the election of means should not be our own will, but the will of God.

After these positive arguments Nadal takes up[45] the difficulties proposed by Pedroche. We shall give a summary of the replies. In Proverbs 30:8 Solomon prays God to grant him wealth and not poverty. Nadal replies that this prayer is not worthy of a person who desires to live a life of perfection. The prayer would have been better if it had proceeded from a spirit of indifference. The other text, 1 Tim. 6:8, is the same as praying for one's daily bread. This is consonant with religious poverty and with the notion of indifference.

The objections from the natural law and from the nature of irrational creatures Nadal dismisses briefly. Pedroche is speaking like a natural philosopher and not as a Christian theologian. Besides the natural law, there is the Divine Law which directs man to a supernatural end. One of the means proposed for best attaining this end is indifference. Indifference is beyond nature, it is supernatural, and is in the spirit of the Gospel. The Law of Christ, grace, the counsels, the desire to die for Christ, loving one's neighbor—no more than these is indifference against nature. All of them strengthen the natural law and subject it to God.

Charity as Motive of the Election

Text. "The first rule is that the love, which urges and causes me to choose such or such a thing, descend from on high from the love of God."[46]

Censure. It is rash, scandalous, heretical to say that the election should be made out of divinely infused charity (the theological virtue). How could those without grace make an election? Besides, this is to say that an election cannot be made out of a motive of fear; which doctrine would be contrary to Scripture.[47]

Reply.[48] Nadal has a splendid discussion on the whole idea of the election. It is a paraphrase and commentary on the

treatise on the election at the end of the Second Week. We will be able to note only some significant points.

Usually the Exercises are made with the purpose of electing a state of life. This is clear from the first annotations, from the Principle and Foundation, from the logical order of the meditations, from the rules for the discernment of spirits, and from the careful treatise on the election. Nonetheless they can be and often are given to those who are not concerned with electing a state of life. In electing those things which lead to one's end, we counsel not merely what suffices, but what is better and more useful for attaining that end. We instruct the retreatant not to work backwards, first selecting the means and then adapting them to the end; rather the end is first considered, then election is made of the means most conducive to that end. All this is done with the guidance and assistance of the retreat master.[49]

There are three times in which a sound and good election may be made.[50] The first is when God so moves and attracts the will that the course of action to be followed is unmistakable. The second is when light and knowledge is obtained by experiencing consolations and desolations, and by experience of the discernment of various spirits. The third is a time of tranquility, when the soul enjoys the use of its natural powers freely and quietly. In this third time the exercitant is not moved by consolation or desolation; he freely exercises his powers of intellect and will. We can presuppose the influence of faith, hope, charity, the other virtues and gifts of the Holy Ghost. Because before the election there are exercises calculated to arouse sorrow for sin, there is confession and Holy Communion. There is a searching examination of conscience and earnest prayer guarded by continual effort to put aside all distractions. Besides, the election is given to those who are disposed for the third degree of humility. Against the background of this preparation the exercitant uses his natural powers of reasoning to make his election, and it is sure that grace is not wanting. Surely this exercise is far removed from the methods of Quietism.

If the election is not made in the first or second time, there are two methods of making it in the third time.[51] Nadal passes over the first of these two methods and treats of the second,

which is the one attacked by Pedroche. Pedroche asserts that it is heretical to say the election should be made from a motive of charity. Nadal replies that, as far as possible, charity should motivate not only the election but all our actions, and proceeds to review the place of charity in the supernatural life.[52]

The exercitant should strive to arouse in himself an affection of divine love and make his election accordingly. But this only if it is possible. If it is impossible, he is encouraged to make the election out of any worthy motive, be it salutary fear or simply common sense.

Nadal then gives a method of election for the different classes of people without sanctifying grace. Of course the best approach is to convert them and give them all the Exercises, so that the election is made as envisioned in the book of the Exercises. However the Exercises can be adapted to every class.

Infidels.[53] If they can be brought to believe in one God and pray to Him, the Foundation can be accommodated to them. They can be given the meditations of the First Week (omitting confession and Communion), and led to the sorrow for sin which was required of infidels even before Christ's coming. There can be added considerations from the natural law and from any Catholic doctrines they may accept. At first nothing should be proposed on the Trinity or Incarnation; but the meditations on the Kingdom and the Two Standards can be given and referred to the One God. If all these exercises have been completed, an election, adapted to the individual, is in order. Our main purpose is to get them to love and beg help from the one true God.

Heretics.[54] They should find the Foundation and the whole of the first week acceptable. If the deadline for making the Easter duty is not near, the first week will be made without confession and Holy Communion. As with infidels, they should have a "negative" attitude towards the truths they deny as heretics, i.e., they should prescind from them for the time being and concentrate on those truths which are acceptable to them. Emphasis should be placed on sorrow for sin in the hope that abandoning the sins, which may be the root of their

errors, they will be better prepared to recognize their intellectual errors and accept the Faith.

If the heretic is not converted after the First Week he should be given meditations on the life of Christ (always prescinding from the doctrines wherein he has erred). Simple contemplations and the application of the senses are to be preferred to subtle intellectual speculations, the main purpose being to exercise the soul in humility.

If after this he still persists in his error, he may be engaged in quiet debate. The heretic will set forth his arguments, and the instructor will propose the Catholic doctrine. Then the instructor will compare the two positions and explain the proper conclusion. If this discussion is of no avail, he is to be helped by prayer.[55]

Catholics in mortal sin.[56] There is no special problem here. They make the Exercises in order, are restored to the state of grace by the sacrament of penance, and then proceed to the election.

There are some further considerations[57] on the relation between charity and other motives for making the election. Even for these classes of people without grace, Nadal insists that charity should be the motive of the election. Actions motivated by fear, force, emotion, persuasion, are good but imperfect, and should be considered as preparation for the perfect motive of charity. Love of God should be the chief factor of our whole lives, but this does not deny a place for less perfect motives. Nor are these other motives neglected in the Exercises. Consider the second method of making an election, the section we are considering. The first rule proposes the love of God as a motive. If this is not forthcoming, the second rule uses common sense by instructing the retreatant to follow the advice he himself would give to an imaginary stranger. The third and fourth rules use fear as a motive, when the election is supposed to take place on the deathbed or on Judgment Day. By employing these less worthy motives we try to bring the retreatant to the point where love of God is the dominating consideration.

Text. ". . . so that he who chooses, feel first in himself that the love, which he has more or less for the thing he chooses, is solely for the sake of his Creator and Lord."[58]

Censure. According to Ignatius men can *feel* divine love and the theological virtue of charity. Not only can he, but he should. Furthermore he can and should *feel* that all his affections proceed from infused charity. This is against Catholic doctrine.[59]

Reply.[60] Nadal proposes to write a complete answer to this objection, but never gets to it. The five pages he does write are mainly taken up with dialectical and grammatical arguments. Incidentally he indicates how his answer would have run. He says that the experience in question is spiritual consolation of soul which God in His infinite goodness frequently bestows. We can hope for it and seek it, but it is not necessary. We don't claim to have a sensible knowledge of infused charity; rather, this spiritual sweetness can be a sign that our actions truly spring from the love of God.

God Working in Creatures

Text. "The third point is to consider how God works and labors for me in all created things."[61]

Censure. Vain is this contemplation in which we think of God as laboring for us, so that the sight of His efforts and fatigue should move us to love Him. It is true that God works in creatures insofar as He makes them work for us, but this should not lead us to think of God as working Himself.[62]

Reply.[63] Scripture speaks of God as working, and attributes to Him anger, sorrow, regret, and so forth. This does not mean that there is passion or imperfection in God. God in His goodness speaks to men in language we can understand. Thus gently but firmly He leads us to contemplate Himself and His operations. He does not wish to say that His operations are marred by imperfection; He wants to teach that certain effects come from Himself, which effects in creatures are the result of passion. Words signifying passion, when attributed to God, indicate His strength of purpose and the decisiveness of His actions. Salutary fear arises in a man when He thinks of infinite power enraged against him unless he repents of his sins.[64]

Another consideration is that, when God is said to be angry, we think of Him as exhibiting a greater exercise of His power. The work of creation and conservation might be thought of as

proceeding from God's ordinary power; whereas the notions of anger, regret, labor, mercy, sorrow, etc., are used to indicate a special exercise of power.[65]

This language of Scripture is also explained by the Humanity of Christ. Labor and suffering were to be experienced by God in Christ. So even in the Old Testament, the experiences of Christ were attributed by way of prophecy to God.[66]

The thought of the work done by Christ should move us to love. And this is work done by God. For in Christ the Word of God suffers thirst, weariness, grief, is scourged, crowned with thorns, and crucified. These are the labors of the Word of God. Though divinity suffers nothing, still those sufferings move men to love, not only because they are the work of the Human Nature, but because through the Hypostatic Union they are the work of God. In the Incarnation, it is God who comes down to earth and becomes subject to the limitations of the flesh.

Even prescinding from the Incarnation, God can be considered as working in creatures. Though in God there cannot be sorrow, repentance, or labor, yet Scripture attributes them to God in order to inspire such emotions in men. This is what Ignatius has in mind: the contemplation of God's working in creatures shows how God loves us. Realization of this love is calculated to move men to repent of their sins, to love and serve God.

In the Foundation it was said that all other creatures on earth were created for man. The Contemplation for Obtaining Love considers (second point) the fact that the power, goodness, and love of God dwell in creatures. The third point considers *how* this divine power dwells in creatures.

Everything that God created is good; each creature has its specific goodness; and the totality of creatures is good. Compared to the goodness of God, this total perfection is insignificant. Compared to the original sum of goodness in the world, the total has been lessened by man's sin. And compared to the degree of goodness destined for man in his final end, all creation is groaning for the glorification of the just.[67] Before enjoying final beatitude men have not yet reached the degree of goodness destined for them. Life is a struggle to be freed of corruption and imperfection. God is ever present in crea-

tures, graciously assisting man in this struggle: God's power is exercised not only in creation, in the operations of the angels, and in the glorious realm of grace, but He cooperates with the least perfect creatures, with the least noble actions. He cooperates not only with actions that attain perfection, but even with actions that are imperfect, whether this imperfection spring from utility or necessity, or is the result of sin. Thus God preserves in existence and gives His concursus to the evil actions of the devil and of sinful men.

Of course God suffers no change or imperfection from this activity, which is, as it were, humble and abject. And to be moved to love of God, it is not necessary that God actually demean Himself to abject labor. The idea of St. Ignatius is that contemplation of such activity on God's part *ad modum laborantis* should stir men to greater love of their Creator. And as was said above, the Incarnation gives added significance to this consideration. God Incarnate actually did labor, suffer, and die for men.

Apparition to Our Lady

Text. First Christ appeared to the Virgin Mary.[68]

Censure.[69] This flatly contradicts the Gospel of St. Mark, who expressly says that Jesus appeared first to Mary Magdalene.[70]

Reply.[71] Briefly here is Nadal's explanation of the apparent contradiction. Our Lord appeared first to His Mother for a special reason, the traditional argument from propriety. All the apparitions recorded in the Gospels were to furnish to the world proof of the Resurrection. The apparition to our Lady was not intended to be used as an apologetic argument. So the apparition to Mary Magdalene is rightly called the first, since it was the first of those intended to bear witness of Christ's victory over death. The editors of the *Monumenta* note that this is the opinion of Knabenbauer, following Suarez, Salmeron, Maldonatus, etc.[72]

There are several more passages criticized by Pedroche, but they are left unanswered since Nadal didn't finish his projected work. Some of the sections he did write remain without the corrections he obviously intended to make. It is perhaps unfortunate that he didn't discuss the proposition, which ac-

cording to the editors of the *Monumenta* was most strongly censured.[73] It is the caution of St. Ignatius on speaking about predestination in the 14th Rule for Thinking with the Church.[74] The text Pedroche quotes is as follows: "etiam si plane compertum definitumque *esset* salutem nemini contingere, nisi praedestinato."[75] Pedroche says this implies that it is possible for the non-predestined to be saved.[76] The editors of the *Monumenta* dismiss the difficulty easily: the authentic meaning is to be had from the Spanish autograph which means, "etiam si compertum definitumque *sit.*"[77]

Some of the ideas we have recorded may not seem to be of great value today since many of them have become familiar through subsequent studies of the Exercises. But Nadal's stature in the early history of the Society gives prestige to this document and makes it worthy of careful consideration. It is interesting to compare the esteem in which the Exercises are held today with their former position when such objections could seriously be urged. Many of Nadal's other writings on the spiritual life are preserved in the four volumes of the *Monumenta* devoted to him, and any time given to them will be of value in understanding Ignatian spirituality.

NOTES

[1] *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, Exercitia Spiritualia,* pp. 649-50. P. Bouvier, S.J., *L'Interprétation authentique de la méditation fondamentale dans les Exercises de saint Ignace.* (Bourges; Tardy, 1922), pp. 15-16 and note 1.

[2] *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, Historia Societatis Jesu, Chronicon Polanci,* III, 335-38. This is the *Chronicon* of Polanco, volume III, and is hereafter referred to as Chron. Pol. III. See note 4.

[3] Bouvier, *op. cit.* p. 16. M. Nicolau, S.J., *Jeronimo Nadal, S.J., Sus obras y doctrinas espirituales* (Madrid, 1949), pp. 79-80.

[4] *Censura Exercitiorum S. Ignatii a P. Thoma de Pedroche, O.S. Dom., Confecta et Archiepiscopo Toletano Oblata anno 1553.* Chron. Pol. III, 501-24.

[5] *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, Epistolae P. Hieronymi Nadal,* IV, 820-73 (hereafter referred to as Epist. Nadal IV); and Chron. Pol. III, 525-73. The Apology of Nadal is incomplete (see Epist. Nadal IV, 820), and is published in two parts in the *Monumenta.* Anyone wishing to read the Apology in its logical order should read as follows:

Epist. Nadal IV, 820-23.
Epist. Nadal IV, 823-26.

Chron. Pol. III, 527-73.
Epist. Nadal IV, 826-73.

[6] Chron. Pol. III, 503.

[7] *Ibid.*, 504; *Directorium in Exercitia Spiritualia S.P.N. Ignatii*, Prooemium, ¾2.

[8] Chron. Pol. III, 504.

[9] *Ibid.*, 506, 533.

[10] Epist. Nadal IV, 823-24; Chron. Pol. III, 528-30, 533-39.

[11] Chron. Pol. III, 505.

[12] *Loc. cit.*

[13] *Ibid.*, 531.

[14] Chron. Pol. III, 507. This is from the 4th Annotation, Exercises ¾4.

[15] Chron. Pol. III, 507.

[16] *Ibid.*, 539-49.

[17] *Ibid.*, 540. This is from the 1st Annotation, Exercises ¾1.

[18] Chron. Pol. III, 540. "Quid igitur quaerimus per has meditationes nisi ut ne statum vitae temere suscipiamus? Investigamus . . . qua via nobis ingrediendum sit ut ad perfectionem contendamus, ac semper quoad vita haec sit superstes, contendamus . . ."

[19] *Ibid.*, 543-44.

[20] Matt. 4:17.

[21] Chron. Pol. III, 544.

[22] *Ibid.*, 547-48.

[23] *Ibid.*, 507. This is from the 11th Annotation, Exercises ¾11.

[24] Chron. Pol. III, 507.

[25] *Ibid.*, 550-58.

[26] *Ibid.*, 555. "At nos qui fructum orationis, meditationis, contemplationis, in voluntate ejusdemque operationibus constituimus, neque qui plura intelligit eum magis profecisse ex meditatione censemus, sed qui sensum maiorem spiritus ac cordis retulit, eum sapienter versatum in oratione intelligimus."

[27] *Ibid.*, 555-56.

[28] *Ibid.*, 508. This is from the 12th Annotation, Exercises ¾12.

[29] Chron. Pol. III, 508.

[30] *Ibid.*, 559-62.

[31] *Loc. cit.*

[32] *Ibid.*, 509. This is Annotation 15, Exercises ¾15.

[33] Chron. Pol III, 509.

[34] *Ibid.*, 563-69.

[35] "Attinent exercitia fere ad statum vitae eligendum." *Ibid.*, 564.

[36] *Ibid.*, 510. This and the two following sentences are from the Principle and Foundation. They are treated separately by Pedroche on pages 510, 513, 514.

[37] Prov. 30:8.

[38] 1 Tim. 6:8.

[39] Ecclesiasticus 41:15; Prov. 22:1; Ecclesiastes 7:2.

[40] Chron. Pol. III, 572-73; Epist. Nadal IV, 826-40. On indifference and the whole of the Foundation one might profitably consult Bouvier, *op. cit.*

[41] Nicolau, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[42] Epist. Nadal IV, 827-37.

[43] *Ibid.*, 833. Actually Nadal never wrote the argument "ex sacris doctoribus" in the folio pages he left blank for this purpose.

[44] *Ibid.*, 827-28.

[45] *Ibid.*, 837-40.

[46] Chron. Pol. III, 515. This is the first rule in the Second Method of Making a good and sound election. Exercises ℵ184.

[47] Chron. Pol. III, 515.

[48] Epist. Nadal IV, 840-59.

[49] *Ibid.*, 840-842.

[50] *Ibid.*, 844. See the Second Week, The Election, ℵ175-78.

[51] Epist. Nadal IV, 846. Exercises ℵ178.

[52] Epist. Nadal IV, 846-47.

[53] *Ibid.*, 849.

[54] *Ibid.*, 850.

[55] "Oratione juvandus est." I suppose Nadal means prayer by the retreatant and by the retreat master.

[56] *Ibid.*, 850-51.

[57] *Ibid.*, 851-53.

[58] Chron. Pol. III, 516. Exercises ℵ184.

[59] Chron. Pol. III, 516. Also pp. 522-23.

[60] Epist. Nadal IV, 855-59.

[61] Chron. Pol. III, 518. Exercises ℵ236. This is from the third point of the Contemplation for obtaining love.

[62] Chron. Pol. III, 518-19.

[63] Epist. Nadal IV, 859-70.

[64] *Ibid.*, 860-61.

[65] *Ibid.*, 861.

[66] *Loc. cit.*

[67] Rom. 8:22.

[68] Chron. Pol. III, 519. Exercises ℵ299.

[69] Chron. Pol. III, 519-20.

[70] Mark 16:9.

[71] Epist. Nadal IV, 870-73.

[72] *Ibid.*, 872, note 2.

[73] Chron. Pol. III, 336.

[74] Exercises ℵ367.

[75] This wording is found in some older editions of the Exercises. Chron. Pol. III, 336, note 2.

[76] *Ibid.*, 523.

[77] *Ibid.*, 336.

HISTORICAL NOTES

THE HURON SODALITY OF 1653

The first Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, in what is now Canada and the United States, was that established three hundred years ago among the Huron Indians on the Island of Orleans, near Quebec. This *Congrégation* was understood to be, and was fully described as an authentic Sodality by its founder, P. Pierre Chaumonot, by the Superior of the Mission of New France, P. Francois Le Mercier, and by the other missioners at Quebec who had been Sodalists in Old France. Affiliation with the *Prima Primaria* was impossible under the circumstances and conditions. But this Huron Sodality incorporated in its aims and procedure the Rules of the Sodality as then organized in France.[1]

This Huron "Congregation of Our Lady," in its inception and in its short history, is fully described by P. Chaumonot and P. Le Mercier in the *Relations* of 1653-54 under the chapter heading: "De la Première Congrégation de Nostre Dame parmi les Sauvages." Frequent references to it and the Sodalists are made in the subsequent *Relations*. In like manner P. Du Creux, who often supplements the *Relations* with information gleaned from the returned missioners, speaks of this Congregation as "the Sodality of Holy Mother which was established for the first time, this year, in the Island of Orleans." These statements would negative the assertion, sometimes made, that there existed a Sodality of some sort during the latter 1640's in the Huron homeland.[2]

When one considers the strength and the popularity of the Sodality in the Jesuit colleges, churches, and Professed Houses in France, it seems rather strange that the Jesuits at Quebec had not organized the pious habitants and officials in a Sodality prior to 1653. Yet the first reference to such a Congregation is that contained in the *Jesuit Journal* for 1657: "On February 14, Ash Wednesday, P. Poncet held, in his room, the first meeting of the Congregation of Our Lady. Twelve were present." This would confirm the statement made above, that the first and pioneer Sodality in North America was that of the Huron Indians.[3]

The founder of the Sodality among the Hurons was P. Pierre Joseph-Marie Chaumonot, S.J., who, as will be told later, came down to Quebec with the Huron refugees in 1650 and established them on the Island of Orleans the following year. He had as his assistant, P. Leonard Garreau, who also accompanied the Huron Christians in their flight from their native country. It was their hope, as it was that of P. Le Jeune, as far back as 1632, that a Christian community of natives could be modelled on the famed Reductions of Paraguay. The conditions for such an experiment seemed to be ideal in 1651 on the Island of Orleans.[4]

The members of the Sodality were the Hurons who had survived the ruin of their nation and had migrated to Quebec with the certainty that there among the French they would find sustenance against famine, escape from the epidemics, and security and protection against their Iroquois conquerors. Most of them belonged to the prominent and most devout Huron families. They were, likewise, the most loyal and faithful to the Blackrobe missioners. For more than ten years they had been stricken down by blow after blow and had suffered everything except death. They had embraced the Faith sincerely and were not only docile in their spirit, but avid to gain heaven after the imminent death that threatened them. Within the next five years death would claim many of them, through disease and through torture in the Iroquois fires. Almost all of those who escaped death, would be merged in the cabins of their Iroquois masters.

I. The Hurons Come To Quebec

The earthly doom of the Huron race, under the Providence of God, seems to have begun with the advent of the missioners among them and seems to have been completed with their full acceptance of the Faith. The progressive deterioration of this once dominant and proud people was caused by a succession of epidemics and a weakening of morale in war-pursuits. Through all of these years of disaster the converts to Catholicism grew in number and influence. By 1649 the missioners could claim that the Hurons were a Catholic people, even though a segment remained pagan.

In March of that year after the martyrdoms of Jean de

Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant, and through the following summer, the Huron homeland was so completely devastated that not a Huron village remained and not a Huron dared to tread the ancestral trails. The population had been dwindling through a decade, so that, in this fateful year, it may be conjectured that there were only about ten thousand who had escaped death and remained in their own country.[5]

By the Autumn of 1649 the survivors had dispersed in all directions. Some took refuge with the Neutrals, Petuns, and Eries, only to find death and ruin when these nations were massacred by the Iroquois. Other large family groups took canoe to the north of Lake Huron and attempted settlements about Michilimackinac. Many sought safety in the long journey to the south and joined themselves with the Andastes, or Susquehannocks, in what is now Pennsylvania. Still others penetrated to the west and, uniting with the fugitives of their own racial stock, came to be known as the Wyandots.[6]

In utter desolation and profound despair P. Paul Ragueneau decided to abandon the mission center of Sainte-Marie in June, 1649 and to build a new Sainte-Marie on the Island of St. Joseph, separated from the mainland by a narrow channel. Here, frenetically, he hoped to salvage the Christian Hurons and to establish a rallying place for those who had fled to the four points of the compass. Before the winter the French had erected a stone fort on the island and named it Sainte-Marie II. About three hundred families, from the three major Huron nations and from the adopted clans and villages, joined the Blackrobes and built their longhouses near the French fort.[7]

The twelve months that followed were filled with incredible horror. The French and the Hurons lived in perpetual dread of further Iroquois incursions. Famine gripped them, and they lived on acorns and roots, though the Blackrobes shared what little food they had. Influenza and other diseases spread rapidly, especially among the women and children who had been starving for months. It may be surmised that the deaths numbered well over six or seven hundred. Through this winter of hopelessness, desolation, and death, however, these Huron Catholics held tenaciously to their Faith in God and put their full trust in the Blackrobes and their French aides.[8]

In the late Spring of 1650 P. Ragueneau realized, with a

heart that was breaking, that Sainte-Marie II on St. Joseph's Island could not be maintained and that the Huron Mission must be abandoned. Some Huron elders and chiefs petitioned him to lead the remnants of their people down to the protection of the French at Quebec. The exodus from the Island of Saint Joseph was executed in dread and danger on June 10, 1650. Sixty Frenchman, including thirteen priests, four laybrothers, the *donnés* and workmen, bade farewell forever to the land sanctified by the blood of the martyrs and shrouded the glorious hopes of planting the Cross of Christ in the countless villages of the unknown nations of the West.[9]

The six to seven hundred Hurons, "starved skeletons," according to P. Ragueneau, who had survived the winter, were of divided opinion. About three hundred, in family groups, were determined to undertake the nine hundred mile water journey down the Ottawa and St. Lawrence to seek a haven in Quebec rather than to face the hazards of the blood-thirsty Iroquois. About the same number resolved to remain on the Island of St. Joseph and, as long as possible, defy the Iroquois in the French fort. If they found this impossible, they promised, under the leadership of Stephen Annaotaha, the protector of P. De Brébeuf, to migrate to Quebec.[10]

After fifty days of labor and fear down the rapids of the Ottawa, the Huron flotilla beached the canoes at Quebec on July 28, 1650. The three hundred and more Hurons, though received with Christ-like charity, created a severe economic as well as sociological problem. Quebec at that time counted a permanent population of not more than four hundred habitants and officials, struggling to support themselves by arduous labor in their cleared fields, receiving insufficient aid from France, and impoverished by the loss of the fur trade, due to the Iroquois scourge.[11]

The Hurons set up their camp on the hillside below the Hôtel-Dieu. The Hospital Sisters, the Ursulines and those of the colonists who were able, gave daily rations of food to about one hundred Hurons. The Jesuits, whose resources that year were comparatively slender, had to find means for feeding the other two hundred during the entire winter. The mouths increased during the autumn and winter by new groups who wandered down to Quebec.

To end this intolerable situation for the Hurons as well as for the French, P. Ragueneau, as the acting superior, and P. Chaumonot, as the Huron pastor, believed that they had found a perfect solution. They contracted for the sale, or more properly, a permanent lease of a tract of land on the Island of Orleans. Here they planned to establish a self-supporting Huron colony. The site, still called *l'anse du Fort,* was on the south-western tip of the Island, five or six miles below Quebec and in clear vision from the Rock. Part of the land was already cleared and ready for sowing corn. The cove opened into the St. Lawrence where there was fishing; and the back country, as well as the neighboring river bank, offered a great expanse of forests for hunting. The place, it was thought, could be easily defended by the French from Iroquois ravages.

The contract was signed on March 19, 1651, and on March 29 P. Chaumonot with two *donnés,* Eustache Lambert and Le Pierre, took possession. By April 18 they had staked out thirty holdings of the cleared fields, the largest being only half an arpent, the remainder ranging from twenty to forty perches. By May the squaws and girls were busily planting their corn and the men were erecting their longhouses according to the traditional style. The French *donnés* and workmen were engaged in building a French house for the priests and their helpers.[12]

Wrote P. Chaumonot:

> When we arrived in Quebec, these poor strangers were entrusted to my care, and I was responsible for them all one winter. In the Spring (1651) I took them over to the Island of Orleans, a league and a half below Quebec, to some land which we had. There we made them fell trees and till the fields, and the maize that they sowed flourished marvellously. Apart from the French, whom we employed and paid for this work, we engaged also these savages, that they might help themselves in the following way.
>
> They had no means of maintenance and every day we used to give them, as charity, bread and sagamite, as they call it, which is soup made with peas, rice, or maize, and seasoned with meat or fish. They received these rations according to the amount of work they did. At first some of them grumbled, thinking that we were taking advantage of their toil. But when they saw that, after having fed and clothed them at our expense ever since their arrival in Quebec, we did not reserve to ourselves one inch of the land newly cleared at our expense, but that, on the contrary, we apportioned it

equally among all their families, they heaped blessings on our heads.[13]

In his *Relation,* dated September 21, 1654, P. Le Mercier relates:

When we left the Hurons in the year 1650, after the country had been laid waste by the cruelty of the Iroquois, our design was to take away with us the Christian families that could accompany us, and thus to save at least some remnants of a people that God had called to the Faith and who, one day, should serve as seed for restoring Christianity to all these regions . . . Those who followed us found with us salvation of soul and body. In order to give them a fixed abode—since the Hurons are not a nomadic nation—they were assigned a section of the Island of Orleans, separated from the French and in sight of Quebec, about two leagues below it. We had to feed them, both adults and children, for the first two years, and to build them a church and a fort to protect them against the invasion of the Iroquois, the fear of whom followed them everywhere. It was necessary to furnish them with kettles and hatchets, and even to provide clothing for the greater number of the families; and we have been obliged to continue this expenditure for a great many poor, sick and disabled persons. In short, we are their fathers, mothers, and all.[14]

During 1651 other bands of Hurons who had been wandering from place to place came down to the St. Lawrence and settled, some at Three Rivers and the majority on the Island of Orleans. The largest of these caravans was that which had remained on St. Joseph's Island, had removed up the Bay to Manitoulin Island, and finally, under Annaotaha, resolved to put themselves under French protection. It may be estimated that these additional souls numbered about six hundred. All of these, also, had to be fed, clothed, equipped and settled on Orleans.

In his *Relation,* dated October 4, 1652, P. Ragueneau records:

We have had a redoubt, or kind of fort, built to defend them against the Iroquois; it is about the same size as the one that was among the Hurons at the place called Ahouendae. We have also had a very neat chapel erected, and a little house for our own lodging. Our good neophytes' cabins are very near us, under the shelter of the Fort.[15]

During the next few years the Huron Colony was prosperous, well-behaved, and as happy as it could be under the Iroquois threat. These implacable demons had pursued the Huron

fugitives through all the western areas in which they sought haven. They were now inflexibly determined, by war, deceit, and every form of perfidy, to subdue the Hurons who clustered about Montreal and Three Rivers, and who settled on Orleans. Their ultimate aim was to force the Hurons to unite with them as "one people of a single cabin," or to exterminate them. Another enemy that had plagued the Hurons ever since the arrival of the French among them was that of disease and pestilence. During the first few years on Orleans influenza, or pleurisy, as it was called, was widespread, and caused many to die, despite the sacrificial care of the Nuns at the Hôtel-Dieu.[16]

The Faith of the Hurons deepened and their piety expanded marvellously under the fatherly care and tutelage of P. Chaumonot and P. Garreau. According to P. Le Mercier: "Devotion and faith reign in that little redoubt. In addition to the public prayers and daily Mass in the chapel, with the reception of Communion on Sundays and Feast Days, prayers were recited in the cabins, morning and evening."[17]

It cannot be assumed, as the *Relations* seem to imply, that this was a colony of saints. For the most part it is true the ancient superstitions were not practiced openly, and dreams were no longer the ruling destiny of their existence. But the transplanted savages brought with them not only the filthy mode of life to which they were accustomed in their former villages, but also their savage natures, which were still prone to sexual promiscuity, and were ingrained with deceit, thievery, and the spirit of vengeance. However, it must be understood that these people had been in close contact with the French culture for only a little more than twenty years, and that the renunciation of paganism and the conversion to Catholicism, of even the oldest few, did not date back more than a decade and a half.

II. The Establishment of The Sodality

In his *Relation* of 1653-54 P. Le Mercier describes the Sodality:

> What has most promoted the spirit of fervor in this Huron Colony is the devotion they have adopted during the past year to honor the Virgin. Our Fathers, who have charge of the Colony, in order

> to inspire its members with greater zeal, have formed a Congregation, to which they admit only those men and women who lead exemplary lives and who, by their virtue, render themselves worthy of this grace.
>
> At first the Congregation consisted of only ten or twelve persons, whose fervor was redoubled when they were chosen in preference to the others, and were expected to support the dignity of the exalted title, "Servant of the Virgin!"[18]

The prefect and his assistants were chosen by the members, "wisely chosen," adds P. Le Mercier, for they were men of rare and exceptional virtue, filled with holy zeal. The membership was rigorously selective and limited, for the founder, P. Chaumonot, knew and adhered to the Rules of the Sodality, as followed in France. This selectivity, of course, had its immediate repercussions. Many otherwise pious souls complained that they were not admitted, and demanded of P. Chaumonot the reason for their exclusion. He told them the reasons very frankly. To one he pointed out that he was negligent in attending the public prayers. To another he stated that he did not take sufficient care in nourishing the spirit of God in his family. To a woman he said that she was too quick-tempered; and to another, that she was a scandal-monger. They accepted the strictures humbly and endeavored to remedy their defects and make themselves worthy of being "Servants of the Virgin." According to the *Relation,* "from month to month, our Fathers are obliged to receive many of those who deserve it. They [the Hurons] accept their membership with inconceivable delight, since they fondly hope that, being worthy children of the Virgin, they will be sure of salvation."[19]

The regular meetings of the Sodality were held on Sunday and Feast Days. At break of day the chapel bell was sounded to call the members of the Sodality, "the elite of the Faithful," to their early morning devotions. At this assembly, which lasted about an hour, P. Chaumonot relates: "Instead of the Office of the Blessed Virgin, which they do not know how to recite, they chant their Beads in two choruses—the men on one side and the women on the other, the latter being the more numerous." Before beginning the recitation of the Rosary, either P. Chaumonot, or the Prefect, Chiakha Oachonk, or the Assistant Prefects, Louis Atharatou and Chaose Sondeaskon, reminded the Sodalists that they were under eyes of Marie

(Warie). They then sang the prayers of the first decade in a Huron rhythm, lustily. Following the recitation the leader delivered an exhortation, which was followed by a period of silence. Then they began the second decade, followed by another sermon and silence. And thus through the five decades.

A few examples of the nature of these discourses are given by P. Chaumonot. The leader would declare that the true worship of the Virgin consisted in hating sin, and that this must be the distinguishing mark of a child of Mary. At another time he would orate:

> My brothers, it is when we are tempted that the Blessed Virgin discovers those who really love her and pay her respect. When tempted, let us say to Warie: "Holy Virgin, I love your Son Jesus more than this pleasure which is tempting me." If you continue to be tempted repeat the same words, and remember this: "Whoever loves Jesus cannot love sin."

Before the end the Huron preacher would counsel them as to how pleased the Virgin would be if she saw that they did not forget her when they left the chapel. He exhorted the Sodalists that, when they went out they were "to say repeatedly from the bottom of your hearts: 'Holy Virgin, I wish to serve you.' "[20]

At a later hour on Sunday morning the Sodalists attended the public Mass for all the adults at which many of them received Communion. At this Mass the women, who had very beautiful voices, as the missioners affirmed, chanted in Huron the *Gloria,* the Creed, the *Pater Noster,* etc. A Mass for the children was celebrated later in the morning and was followed by instructions and catechism lessons, with small presents for those who excelled.

About noon the Sodalists once more assembled in the chapel to hear a sermon and to recite the Rosary, after each decade chanting a Huron hymn. The Sodalist's Sunday closed about dusk when all the members gathered again for the recitation of the Litany of Jesus or Our Lady, for the singing of hymns, and for Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.[21]

After describing the meeting of the Sodality, P. Du Creux, in his *History of Canada,* comments:

> All this is very artless, but it has a greater effect upon the hearts of the faithful than the stately eloquence so much sought by

> the Sodalities in Europe. In their simplicity the Hurons are close to Him whose conversation is with the simple. All they desire is to be holy and without spot. In this they are so favored by the Lord that as soon as they become enrolled in the Sodality, whether they be maids or matrons, evil men abandon all hope of leading them astray.[22]

Several instances of the strength and purity of the women Sodalists are instanced by P. Chaumonot and included in the *Relation* written by P. Le Mercier. When a dissolute man, attracted by a girl, was told, "She is a Daughter of Mary," he knew he could not gain her. When improper advances were made, a girl would say: "I am a Daughter of the Blessed Virgin." A Sodalist, roused to anger very justly, was calmed when they reminded her: "A Daughter of Mary does not take revenge." The favor most frequently asked by the Sodalists who, with all the Hurons, lived under the unmoving cloud of death, was that the Blessed Virgin would ensure them the grace of a blessed death and an eternity in Heaven.[23]

The first Sodalist to die, from the so-called pleurisy, was a woman about thirty years of age, Madeleine Anderosa. Her only delight was in reciting the Rosary and meditating about God. If P. Chaumonot or P. Garreau inquired as to how she felt, she would say: "My brother, do not trouble yourself about this feeble body which will decay. Speak to me about God; that alone gives me comfort." Shortly before her death, she cried out, as if in ecstasy: "My good Jesus! Oh, how beautiful You are. You have pity on me! You take me to Heaven, for I am going to die."[24]

Another Sodalist to die of the deadly influenza was the famous Armand Jean Andehoua. He was one of the pioneer seminarists who attended the school for Huron boys conducted by the Martyr, P. Antoine Daniel. At the age of eighteen he was baptized at Quebec in 1638. He became influential in the councils, even though a young man, and with his wife, Felicité, and his children, migrated to Quebec and settled on the Island of Orleans. Of him, P. Chaumonot wrote:

> For seventeen years he had never been untrue to his baptismal promises. After the establishment of the Congregation, he had even redoubled his fervor. Every day he heard two Masses, however severe the midwinter cold might be. He heard them with his hands clasped, kneeling on his bare knees, with a respectful devotion that had nothing of the savage in it.

When taken sick, he asked to be received in the Hôtel-Dieu, "in order to be with the 'Holy Maidens'—for thus the Hurons designate the Nuns." Shortly before his death at the age of thirty-six, he exclaimed: "I have no regret in departing from this life. I have no fear of death, because Jesus will have pity upon me."[25]

When the "violent fevers" attacked the villagers on Orleans, "the leading members of the Sodality visited and consoled the sick," P. Chaumonot related, "and their visits were more agreeable to them [the sick] than were my own visits. Our members of the Congregation, in their own sickness, manifested the same piety that they recommended in others." In the pagan days the medicine-man and his followers ranted and roared about the sick. In this Catholic Colony the choir of women chanted the sacred hymns for the comfort of the afflicted.

One of the Sodalists named Andrew was wounded in the leg by a musket-ball at the time of the Iroquois attack in May. He contracted tuberculosis and, "ripe for Paradise," died on December 31, 1656. "Great was the honor accorded him by the whole village and especially by the Congregation," records the *Relation.* Groups of eight Sodalists kept constant vigils of prayer by his body, and "the leading members of the Congregation brought to his cabin a gift of a moose-skin, beautifully painted, as a burial robe; they also supplied the food for a burial feast to all who were invited."[26]

The pioneer missioner, P. Le Jeune, then in France, includes in the *Relation* of 1656-57, a letter he received from one of the missioners, probably P. Chaumonot.

> Our savages are doing well [the letter states]. It seems to me that they manifest much more Faith and piety than usual, especially those who belong to the Congregation, who number eighty—*probati omnes testimonio fidei et pietatis.* They observed the time of Advent with special fervor; each one endeavored to make more solid progress in virtue. Many, who considered one Mass too short to satisfy their devotion, heard two Masses every day. Some came to pay homage to the Blessed Sacrament in the morning, before the hour of prayer; others came regularly at noon. Neither the cold nor the bad weather could dampen their fervor.[27]

III. The Huron Sodalists Address the Paris Sodalists

For many years the Sodality of Our Lady attached to the Professed House of the Society of Jesus in Paris had, as one of its charitable objectives, the support of the Huron Mission. This help the Sodalists intensified when they learned of the catastrophe which had fallen upon the Hurons in 1649-50. At this time P. Charles Lalemant, the founder and first superior of the Mission of New France and later its procurator, was the superior of the Paris Professed House and, undoubtedly, the director of the Sodality. This included in its membership some of the highest nobles of France and personages most prominent in Paris, many of them graduates of the renowned Clermont College of Paris, and that of La Flèche, where reposed the heart of Henri IV. Their contribution of funds and goods must have been extraordinarily generous in 1652-53 and must have stirred the deepest gratitude in the hearts of P. Chaumonot and P. Le Mercier, who still had the problem of supporting the Hurons.[28]

The Hurons themselves, well aware of the generous charity of their benefactors, wished to express their gratitude and to fulfill their immemorial protocol of exchanging present for present. The Sodality leaders, who were also the civil chiefs, held Council during the summer of 1654 as to the nature and the form of the acknowledgement to the Paris Sodalists. They voted to send a "wampum" collar, such as they employed in their ritual of treaty-making and in their messages of goodwill to other nations. The beads for the collar, or broad belt, were to be taken from the treasury of the Sodality. The design for the collar and its size were determined by the Prefect and his Assistants, the execution of it was left to the women.[29]

The treasury of the Sodality was composed of the porcelain beads contributed by the Sodalists who had the custom of setting aside one bead for each Rosary they recited during the week. Each Sunday the beads were applied to the relief of the poor and needy. It would appear, from a statement by P. Le Mercier, that that summer the treasury was rich. He relates:

> Some Huron women joined in a contest as to who paid the greatest honor to the Blessed Virgin, both by exemplary living and by addressing prayers to her, especially by reciting the Rosary . . . In

> order that the frequency with which they recited it might be to their good Mother's honor, they put aside each time one of their pearls or diamonds—these are their porcelain beads . . . The Father [Chaumonot] has noted down on paper that these pearls amounted to five thousand, counting from the day of the Assumption to the fifteenth of October. I am sure that not all those who are enrolled in the Confraternity of the Rosary [in France] recite their chaplets as often as do these good neophytes.[30]

An ordinary collar or belt usually consisted of twelve hundred beads. For very special purposes it might be double that number. In this case, with the fruits of the contest, the collar may have been an enormous one of five thousand beads. The background, or field, was white. Instead of the customary geometrical pattern of dark beads, this collar carried the words *Ave Maria Gratia Plena.* According to the intention of the Huron Sodalists, it was to be a votive offering that the Paris Sodalists would lay before the statue of Our Lady, their patroness.

With their votive collar they sent a dedicatory prayer to the Virgin, composed by themselves and written in Huron by P. Chaumonot on a sheet of birch bark. In Huron the prayer begins:

Tsendaon de Aronhiae esendagerati annonhias koui essannontenk . . . Translated into English, it supplicates the Blessed Virgin as follows:

> Accept, Lady of Heaven, this gift offered to you by the chosen ones of your Huron servants. It is a collar full of mysteries, composed of our most precious gems. It has a heart and a voice, and brings you a greeting like unto the greeting of the Angel Gouriel [Gabriel] in the days of old. We have nothing of greater value, nothing dearer to our hearts to offer you so that, by your help, we may gain heaven.[31]

In order to explain the votive offering and prayer, and to express their personal compliments to their benefactors of the Paris Sodality, they asked Echon (P. Chaumonot) to "paint" their words. Their letter is, in reality, a speech or address made by the prefect, Oachonk, or the eloquent Taieron. P. Chaumonot, who was a genius in Indian languages, transcribed the letter, quite fittingly, on the Indian paper, thin lamina of birch bark. In the *Relation* he translates into French what he calls the "tenor" of the letter.

The Huron original begins:

Ennnhiek ourochen ata atiaou endeontera aawenhon aiawachienda . . . .

The conclusion, with the signatures of the officers, is as follows:

Awatakhen te etsinnonronk wannionek awa Chiakha Oachonk warue harihwa sennik Louis Atharatou annen Chaose Sondeaskon.

The English translation reads:

> My brothers, we offer you our respect honestly and without artifice. It was only a year ago that our hearts were opened. Then, for the first time, it occurred to us to venerate Mary, the Mother of Jesus. At that very time we learned that there were bands of pious men everywhere in the world ready to say in their hearts to her: "Mother of Jesus, thou seest my heart, thou seest I do not lie when I say, Mary, I desire to honor you."
>
> We have been told that Paris is a very fine village, and that you, who are very much honored among men, in turn, take special glory in the veneration of Mary. You have gone before us; we wish to follow you. The Mother of Jesus who often turns her eyes on the poor, has impelled you not to neglect the needy; and so, for many years you have sent us costly gifts.
>
> We have met together and we have said: "What shall we, in turn, send to these mighty Servants of the Virgin? They do not need our trifles; they are rich. We shall send them a collar of wampum, in which are written the first three [*sic*] words of the greeting sent from Heaven by the angels to the Virgin." The number of beads in the collar show how many times we have recited the Rosary in the space of two moons. Moreover, each black bead has the value of two white beads.
>
> Present this belt to her and say that we have resolved to venerate her. We should like to honor her as much as you do. But we are not clever enough to serve her in the same way. We shall honor her more when the Mother prays to her Son to give us the hearts and minds to worship her. If this comes to pass, we know that it will please you as much as it pleases us, because you venerate her more than we could.
>
> A laborer rejoices when he sees all the ears of corn ripening in his field. In time of harvest he is sad if some ears do not ripen. The Virgin Mother of God regards you as grain growing ripe in her fields for the joys of heaven. She looks upon us as ears not yet ripe; as yet, we do not have sense, and we have only begun to venerate her; for this she is sad. You who love her, beg Jesus to make all the grain in the Virgin's field to grow ripe soon, and to ripen as she wishes.

When you recite the Rosary, remember us. We, in turn, will remember you. We are brothers, since the Mother of Jesus is our Mother as well as your Mother. She loves us, and we wish to love her.

We have asked Echon to write to you in our name. For, though we can speak, we do not know how to put down on paper what we think.

James Oachonk, Prefect of the Sodality, Louis Taieron and Joseph Sondouskon, Assistants, present their respects and sincere greetings.

The thin sheet of birch bark was folded in the form of an envelope, and on the reverse side was addressed:

To Messieurs, the Members of the Congregation of Our Lady in the Professed House of the Society of Jesus in Paris.

From the Christian Hurons of the Congregation of Sainte-Marie, on the Island of Orleans, near Quebec, in New France.[32]

The porcelain collar and the documents were included in the bundle of mail sent by P. Le Mercier in the ships that sailed for France in October. It was, presumably, received by P. Charles Lalemant and, though no record is extant, it may be deduced from other evidence that the Paris Sodalists were deeply touched by the Huron gift and duly presented the votive offering to Our Lady. The prayer and the letter were published in Huron and French by the famous printer of the day, Sebastien Cramoisy, in the *Relation* of 1653-54, about February, 1655 and, according to an unfriendly critic, "were circulated through all France and drew tears of devotion from all."

To complete the record, it seems well, but with regrets, to quote the bitter strictures by the Recollect, P. Christian Le Clercq, on the *Jesuit Relations* as a whole and, in particular, on the Huron Sodality of Our Lady. Le Clercq's history, published in 1691, had, as its express purpose, to exalt the labors of the Recollects, the first missioners to New France, and to destroy the credit and the prestige of their Jesuit successors.

In a sardonic attack on the *Relations,* with special reference to that of 1646, which the English translator, John Gilmary Shea, characterizes as a "burlesque," Pere Christian rants:

It is wonderful to learn of . . . the faith of the Hurons, so ardent that it could not be contained in one village; they pass to neighboring nations. We see among them a kind of martyrdom, evangelical preachers, fanciful prophets who announced divine vengeance,

fathers who resist children, husbands converted at the entreaties of their wives. We hear of some who roll in the snow and of others who make a bed of live coals and firebrands in order to extinguish concupiscence. They receive extraordinary impressions of the spirit of God, in view of His intimate presence, in prayer, communion, and the fervent exercise of virtue. They believe without difficulty the most sublime mysteries of religion. They support the truth in dogmatical disputes with their still heathen countrymen. So many favors of a visible, miraculous Providence, of tangible blessings, we find expressed in all these *Relations!* Visions, revelations, prodigies are not exempted.

Continuing this diatribe, P. Christian ridicules the Huron Sodality on the Island of Orleans:

All France has admired and accepted with singular edification the wonderful operations of grace on the Huron Church in the Island of Orleans; the fervor, regularity, uniform assiduity of the Indians; how the Sodality of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers was in such great favor among them that, in 1654, they had already eighty Sodalists. The Letter of Association of this Indian Sodality, written to the Sodality of the Professed House at Paris, was circulated through all France and drew tears of devotion from all.[33]

A very restrained answer to P. Christian was given by P. Francis X. Charlevoix, S.J., who first arrived in New France about fourteen years after the publication of Le Clercq's book, and who later wrote a most comprehensive history of New France. Writing of the Huron Christians on the Island of Orleans, he attests:

As they were the flower of the Christians of that nation, as they had not abandoned the Lord in the miseries wherewith He had permitted them to be afflicted, and as they had borne the scandal of the Cross with patience and resignation, in a way especially admirable in neophytes, it is easy to conceive their fervor at a time when everything led them to gratitude toward Him who giveth death and who quickeneth—always for the good of His elect. Besides, they lacked no assistance which could serve to nourish their piety.

The most fervent were formed into two Sodalities, one for men and the other for women. These Congregations produced among those fervent Indians the same fruits of holiness that were then admired in all the parts of the world in which such Congregations were established.

This we say, notwithstanding what is written by an author [Le Clercq] who had every reason to distrust his information, and whose profession should have rendered him more reserved in speaking of things about which he could not possibly be informed.[34]

IV. The Dispersion of The Huron Sodalists

The five nations of the Iroquois Confederacy that had decreed doom upon their blood relations, the Hurons, during the 1640's resolved anew in their councils in the early 1650's to pursue the Huron refugees no matter where they might find asylum. They were determined either to exterminate the Hurons or to compel them to unite with themselves in Iroquois villages and thus form, as they said, "one cabin." The most numerous and cohesive group of Hurons was that on the Island of Orleans, together with a smaller colony near Three Rivers. These became the bloody objectives of all the Five Nations, and for the French, as well as for the Hurons and Algonquins, the St. Lawrence became a river of blood.

Nevertheless, the Iroquois, with cunning sagacity and hiding their persistent unity of purpose, held councils with the French and protested by oratory and pledges that they desired peace. Foremost in these councils were the Mohawks and the Onondagas, with the western Senecas also making their bids. While holding public council with the French and their Indian allies and inviting them to send Blackrobes to their villages, the Iroquois were secretly negotiating with the Hurons to separate themselves from the French and to migrate as a body to the Iroquois country. Fearing with good reason the destruction of the French colonies in New France and desiring nothing more ardently than peace with these implacable enemies, the French agreed to release the Hurons, if they should so wish, and sent P. Le Moyne on an embassy to the Mohawks, and P. Chaumonot, with other missioners and a large party of Frenchmen, to inaugurate a French settlement among the Onondagas.

During all these specious peace-talks the Mohawks especially were committing sneak-attacks on the French, Algonquins, and Hurons, to such an extent that no one, whether near his home or along the river and trails, felt secure from captivity or death. Thus, on April 25, 1656 more than three hundred Mohawks talked peace at Three Rivers but concealed their purpose of attacking the Hurons on Orleans. Though diverted at this time from their objective by P. Le Moyne, they did not abandon it.

On May 19, during the night, forty canoes of Mohawk braves

slid silently past Quebec, and the warriors secreted themselves in the woods about the Huron colony on Orleans. On the next morning, Saturday, the Hurons, after attending Mass at dawn as usual, were walking leisurely toward their corn-fields. They were frozen by the Iroquois war-screech and were attacked by their war-painted enemies on all sides. Some were killed, many were huddled together as prisoners, and some few gained safety within the palisaded fort.[35]

> Our loss [reported P. Le Mercier] consisted of seventy-one persons, including a large number of young women who were the flower of that Colony . . . Among the captive Hurons were eleven members (men) of the Congregation who, in the extremity of their misery, did not lose the spirit of piety. One of them was James Oachonk, then the prefect of the Sodality, and the most fervent of all our Christians. When that good Christian found himself a prisoner, instead of singing of his warlike achievements, he took for the theme of his song what he had most at heart.[36]

The victorious band of Iroquois, with their prisoners, arrogantly paddled past Quebec, without any effort of the French to attack it. They camped on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, opposite Three Rivers. There they began the preliminary tortures on Oachonk and some of the other men. During these Oachonk chanted:

> Do not pity me! Do not look upon me as unfortunate! I do not fear the fires which my blood can extinguish. I fear only the fire of hell which never dies out. This life means nothing to me, for my thoughts carry me to heaven.

According to P. Le Mercier: "He sang this chant in so powerful a voice that he made himself heard at a distance of nearly a league and a half [*sic*], and the water and wind brought his words to our ears."[37]

P. Chaumonot, who had left his Orleans Hurons on May 12 in order to go on the Iroquois-Onondaga Mission, was at Three Rivers. He wrote to P. Le Mercier:

> I have seen the flower of the Huron Sodality carried away into captivity by the pagans, together with many others whose devotion would appear extraordinary even in a cloister. Praise be to Him forever, since *bene omnia fecit.* I had the happiness of visiting them three times in the Iroquois camp, about half a league from Three Rivers. I confessed them all, after making them pray to God . . . Among them was a young woman, eighteen years of age, named Agnes Aoendoens, who was baptized by the late P. Jean

de Brébeuf. I heard her confession and, truly, I have never seen any one more innocent. A person shut up in a cloister could not better preserve her piety. In short, I cannot find words to express to you all that passed on that occasion.[38]

The Hurons were conducted to the Mohawk country. All were spared and given to Mohawk families except six of the leaders, who were condemned to torture and death. One of these was James Oachonk, the prefect of the Sodality and the civil chief. Another was the war chief, Joachim Ondakont. This latter was "a great warrior, whose life had been but a series of combats and victories." He was already burned up to his waist, his fingers had been cut and mashed, and he was covered with blood. He was to be killed the next day. But during the night, though guarded in a cabin by fifty Mohawk braves, he escaped, and naked, burned and wounded as he was, without food, he wandered through the forest for fifteen days, until, fortunately, on the shores of Lake Ontario he met P. Chaumonot and the French party on its way to the Onondagas. He related the story of the heroism, the zeal, the spiritual defiance of Oachonk during the fiery and bloody tortures. "Previous to his misfortune," added P. Le Mercier, "this man's fervor had relaxed and he seemed to be only half a Christian." After witnessing the saintly example of Oachonk, "he was so happily changed that he cannot sufficiently bless God, or sufficiently praise the Christians, in whom he observed examples of a virtue beyond reproach."[39]

One of the torturers told a similar story of Oachonk to P. Le Moyne when he came on an embassy to the Mohawk village.

That Iroquois, who had helped to burn him [Oachonk], said to Ondessonk [P. Le Moyne]: "We have never seen anyone who loved the prayer like that man. He prayed to God continually on the scaffold and exhorted his fellow sufferers to think of heaven and of God who awaited them there. He called out aloud to the Huron Christians: 'My brothers, remember that all the Frenchmen assemble today in the Church to offer the sacrifice to God. They pray to God for us; let us do the same, on our part. If our enemies do not permit us to say our prayers aloud in our usual way, as we did on the Island of Orleans, let us all pray secretly in our hearts. As for me, I fear neither their torches nor their hatchets, heated red hot. They shall never prevent me from speaking to God, to beg Him to have pity on a poor man who has so grievously and so frequently offended Him.'" The Iroquois added: "There was something more than human in that man. We tortured him, to

> force a cry out of his lips. But he only continued to sigh gently and he always kept his eyes fixed on the sky as if he were speaking to someone. We could not hear distinctly what he said, but he often repeated these words: 'My brothers, I am going to Heaven where I will pray to Him-Who-Made-All for your salvation.' Up to the last sigh that we forced from him by the violence of the tortures, he spoke of nothing but Heaven."[40]

After this Mohawk raid of 1656, the Hurons realized that they had no choice but a complete surrender; and the French concluded that they were powerless to protect their Huron wards. The Hurons had planned to play off the Mohawk against the Onondaga. As they should have known, they were outwitted and as a result exasperated both these nations the more.

Though living together as one people in one village, the Hurons on Orleans retained their clan independence and were governed by their own chiefs. These clans or nations were: the Bear Nation, whose capital town had been Ossossané; the Rock Nation, which had formerly lived at Cahiagué and who had joined the people of St. Ignace, where P. Brébeuf and P. Lalemant were martyred; the Cord Nation, in whose village of Teanaustayé, Antoine Daniel was martyred and cremated. During the Winter of 1656 in clan councils and in general assemblies, the chiefs debated as to what must be done in their grave plight. Negotiations, meanwhile, were being carried on with the Mohawks and Onondagas and to a lesser extent with the Oneidas and Senecas.

By the Spring of 1657 each of the Huron nations had reached its own decision. The Bears elected to trust themselves to the Mohawks and, under the pledge of safe conduct, migrate to their country in a body. The Rock people had exchanged presents with the Onondagas and pledged themselves to go to their country. The Cord Nation declared that it would remain with the French and rejected all the advances of the Iroquois. Their spokesman gave their verdict: "I see the whole river bristling with long and great teeth. I would be in danger of being bitten if I were to embark at present. There will come another time."[41]

The end of the sojourn of the homeless Hurons in their "second homeland" on the Island of Orleans was inevitable. P. Jean de Quen inscribed a melancholy, heart-rending entry

in the *Jesuit Journal* for 1657: "June 2. 14 Huron women, with several little children, embarked in 7 Agnieronon (Mohawk) canoes, in order to go and live at Agnie. *Here begins the destruction of the Hurons.*" (Italics inserted)[42]

During that same June the Onondagas, in whose country P. Chaumonot, P. Le Mercier, and other missioners had begun a most pretentious mission-center, came to claim the Huron Nation of the Rock. The French, knowing that P. Chaumonot and the Blackrobes would welcome their children, cooperated and carried the refugees up the St. Lawrence to Montreal in three shallops. There, after a short delay, the Onondagas took their part of the prey in their canoes. On the way the Onondagas butchered some few of the Hurons. The rest they brought to their villages and shared with them their fires and cabins.[43]

In August the Mohawks peaceably beached their canoes in the almost deserted cove on Orleans. In utter resignation the last of the Bear Nation was trundled into the little boats and began their journey into a Mohawk oblivion. Their only consolation was Ondessonk, who had lived with them in their freedom at their village of Ossossané, and who now was the Blackrobe apostle of the Iroquois.[44]

The Cord Nation, that had been the most resistant to the Faith and the most cruel to the Blackrobes in Teanaustayé, proved to be the most loyal to the French, in whom they put their entire faith and hope for survival. Since they could have no security and no peace on the Island of Orleans, they were accorded land for a fixed habitation below the French Fort of Quebec. It may be conjectured that, at this time, they numbered about one hundred and fifty souls. In 1668 they moved from Quebec to the neighboring settlement of Nôtre-Dame de Foy, and in 1673 they established themselves at Nôtre-Dame de Lorette, which later was known as l'Ancienne-Lorette. Toward the end of the century they built themselves a new habitation called la Jeune-Lorette.[45]

After his return from the abortive Onondaga Mission, P. Chaumonot once more assumed the pastorate of the Hurons, whom he fathered for the next thirty-five years. He was forced to surrender his care of them in 1692, and shortly afterwards, on February 21, 1693, he died at Quebec, aged eighty-

two years, fifty-four of which he had lived with his beloved "savages."[46]

In these later migrations of the Hurons, P. Chaumonot preserved his Sodality as it had existed on the Island of Orleans. After his death, it is believed that his Jesuit successors perpetuated it for a century, until the Suppression of the Society of Jesus and the death of the last Huron missioner, P. Thomas Girault, in 1794. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Hurons were merged with the French in the parish of St. Ambrose, la Jeune-Lorette; but in 1904 they regained their identity and had their own pastor in the new church of Nôtre-Dame de Lorette.[47]

According to l'Abbé Lindsay, the Huron language is forgotten, and "save for some rare chants of which the meaning is not known, save for some glossaries preserved jealously in archives, save for some names of war chiefs long departed, all else is gone." But not all is gone, for the Faith taught the Hurons at Teanaustayé by St. Jean de Brébeuf, and the piety nurtured among them by P. Chaumonot on Orleans have survived all their tribulations during more than three centuries.

FRANCIS X. TALBOT, S.J.

NOTES

[1]The basic material for this article is derived from the three chief, contemporaneous sources:

a) *The Jesuit Relations.* Edited in French and English by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers, 1899. (This edition will be referred to, hereafter, as *J.R.* with volume and page number added.)

b) *La Vie du P.J.M. Chaumonot.* Cramoisy. Paris. 1688. *Autobiographie du P. Pierre Chaumonot et son Complement.* Edited and annotated by P. Felix Martin, S.J. Paris, 1885. (To be referred to as *Chaumonot.*)

c) *Historiae Canadensis Libri Decem.* Franciscus Creuxius, S.J. Paris, 1664. Translated into English by Percy J. Robinson under the title: *The History of Canada.* Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1951. (Hereafter noted as *Du Creux.*)

[2]*J.R.* 41-147. *Du Creux.* 2-676.

[3]It may be assumed that P. Poncet was inspired by his close friend, P. Chaumonot, to inaugurate the first French Sodality.

J.R. 37-265. Note. Charles de Lauson, Seigneur de Charny, son of the

then Governor of New France, was appointed the first prefect of the Sodality. Later he returned to France and was ordained a priest.

[4]Pierre J-M. Chaumonot was born in France in 1611 and entered the Society of Jesus in Rome, 1632. In 1639, on his arrival at Quebec, he was shipped to the Huron Mission and accompanied P. De Brébeuf to the Neutrals in 1640. He returned to Quebec in 1650 and settled the Hurons on the Island of Orleans. In 1655 he helped to establish the Onondaga Mission among the Iroquois. When that collapsed in 1658, he resumed his pastorate among the Quebec Hurons and remained with them till 1692. He died the following year at the age of 82.

Leonard Garreau, born 1609, came to New France in 1643 and was assigned to labors among the Algonquins, Hurons, and Petuns. In 1649 he was with P. Charles Garnier, whose body he recovered and buried, and whose bones he carried to St. Joseph's Island. He died September 2, 1656 from wounds received in an Iroquois attack near Montreal.

[5]The Huron country was a small peninsula jutting out into Georgian Bay, off Lake Huron. Sainte-Marie I, the home of the missioners, is at the site of the Shrine of the American Martyrs.

J.R. 36-250. Note. P. Ragueneau states: "War and pestilence have destroyed more than ten thousand Hurons." Before 1649 the total Huron population was estimated at a little more than twenty thousand.

[6]*Old Huronia.* Arthur E. Jones, S.J. Toronto: Bureau of Archives, 1909, p. 447. "Migration of the Hurons after their Dispersion."

Relation Abrégée. F. J. Bressany, S.J. Edited by P. Felix Martin, S.J. Montreal, 1852, p. 399. Appendix 10.

[7]The Huron name for the Island of St. Joseph was Ahoendoe. It is now known as Christian Island.

[8]*J.R.* 35-75, ff. This graphic *Relation* of 1649-50 was written by the superior, P. Paul Ragueneau.

[9]*J.R.* 35-183, ff. 41-137.

[10]*The Jesuits in North America.* Francis Parkman. Boston, 1867, p. 426. Parkman wrongly states that "the greater part of the Hurons chose to remain" on the Island of St. Joseph.

[11]*Histoire des Canadiens-Français.* Benjamin Sulte. Montreal, 1882, III-51. Sulte gives the following population figures for 1653: Quebec, 400; Three Rivers, 175; Montreal, 100.

Marie de l'Incarnation: Écrits Spirituels et Historiques. Réédités par Dom Albert Jamet. Quebec, 1936, IV-286. Jamet notes that the population given by Mère Marie, of 2,000 French in New France, is an exaggeration.

[12]*J.R.* 36-117.

[13]*Chaumonot.* 109.

[14]*J.R.* 41-137.

[15]*J.R.* 37-181. The Fort, being about the same dimensions as that of Sainte-Marie II, was 100 feet square, with palisades some 14 feet high. Since it undoubtedly followed the same pattern, within the palisades

were the chapel, the rectory, and a courtyard, for the gathering of the Faithful in peace times and for protection in an enemy attack. The first chapel was built, in the Huron style, of bark. This was the first chapel on the Island of Orleans. A more substantial edifice of wood was built by the *donnés* and workmen. According to the *Jesuit Journal* of 1653: "July 2. The Chapel on the Island of Orleans was blessed *sub titulo Visitationis Beatae Virginis* by P. Jerome Lalemant." (*J.R.* 38-179) The first chapel for the French was erected in 1652, and adjoined the house of Gabriel Gosselin. (*L'Ile d'Orleans.* Pierre G. Roy. Quebec, 1928, p. 54, 57.) The corn-fields during 1652-53 were enlarged by another 300 arpents. (*J.R.* 40-223)

[16]*J.R.* 40-229.

[17]*J.R.* 41-141. *Du Creux.* 2-675.

[18]*J.R.* 41-147. *Du Creux.* 2-676. A Sodality of Women in the seventeenth century, it must be admitted, was an innovation.

[19]*J.R.* 41-149.

[20]*J.R.* 41-149. *Du Creux.* 2-677.

[21]*Ibid.*

[22]*Du Creux.* 2-677.

[23]*J.R.* 41-151.

Les Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu. 95. *J.R.* 36-209; 43-67; 44-261. The first Indian native to become a Nun was the daughter of Huron Sodalists. Geneviève Agnès Skannudharoi attended the Ursuline school and lived with the Hospital Nuns. After a lingering illness, and having manifested heroic sanctity, at the age of fifteen, she pronounced her vows shortly before her death in 1657 and was given the name of Sister Geneviève Agnès de Tous les Saints.

[24]*J.R.* 41-157.

[25]*J.R.* 41-161. Confer: *J.R.* 12-93, 105; 23-175; 24-107.

[26]*J.R.* 43-237.

[27]*J.R. Ibid.*

[28]*J.R.* 36-71.

Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus en France. P. Henri Fouqueray, S.J. Paris, 1925, V-256. *Passim,* vols. I, II, III, IV. The Professed House in Paris was one of the first establishments erected by Henri IV at the time of the restoration of the Society in France. Henri IV and Louis XIII frequently attended Mass and Vespers in the Church of St. Louis, to which Louis consigned his heart. The influence and prestige of the Sodality was paramount.

[29]In pre-French times, the wampum beads, or circles, were sculptured from the white and purple of oyster shells, the dark-colored portions being held in higher esteem and value. When the French introduced porcelain and glass beads, these were substituted for the shell beads, and became the small currency of trade. The violet, purple and black beads were priced double those of white and other pale colors.

[30]*J.R.* 41-165. 40-233. *Du Creux.* 2-680.

[31]*Du Creux.* 1-139. *J.R.* 41-173. The text used for the Huron original and the English translation is that of *Du Creux.* The Huron text of *Du Creux* differs from that carried in the *Relation* in the spelling and the division of the words. The term "mysteries" is used in the same sense that we speak of the mysteries of the Rosary.

[32]*Du Creux.* 2-681. *J.R.* 41-171. The English translation used is that from *Du Creux,* with some verbal changes. This seems to have a more authentic flavor than the translation offered by Thwaites. *Du Creux* does not publish the Huron original.

There is a variation in the spelling of the names in the Huron and the French texts, as published in the *Relation. Atharatou* becomes *Taieron,* and *Sondeaskin* is spelled *Sondouskon. Chiakha* is Jacques (James) and *Chaöse* is Joseph.

J.R. 43-119. Oachonk died an heroic, saintly death after being horribly tortured by the Iroquois two years later in 1656.

J.R. 36-215. Atharatou, or Taieron, was the orator who made an impassioned plea, accompanied by wampum collars, to the Ursulines to remain in Quebec after the fire in their monastery in 1650.

Chaumonot was first called Aroniatiri by the Hurons. He was named Oronhiaguehre in the Neutral dialect. After the death of De Brébeuf, he was "resurrected" with De Brébeuf's name, Echon.

P. Le Mercier, the author of the *Relation* of 1653-54, uses the first person: "which I wrote in their name." He was, undoubtedly, copying from a report sent him by Chaumonot. His Huron name was Chaüose.

[33]*Establissement de la Foi. P. Christian Le Clercq.* Paris, 1691. Translated into English, under the title: *First Establishment of the Faith in New France,* by John Gilmary Shea. New York, 1881, I-395.

[34]*Histoire de la Nouvelle-France. P. François X. de Charlevoix.* Paris, 1744. Translated into English by John Gilmary Shea under the title: *History of New France.* New York, 1866, II-259.

[35]*J.R.* 43-117.

[36]*J.R.* 43-119.

Lettres de Mère Marie de l'Incarnation. Edited by l'Abbé Richaudeau. Paris, 1876, II-108. Mère Marie states that six were killed and eighty-five taken captive. This is also the number given in *Les Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu,* p. 91.

[37]*J.R.* 43-119.

[38]*J.R.* 43-123.

[39]*J.R.* 43-123.

[40]*Ibid.*

[41]*J.R.* 43-193.

J.R. 36-141. The people of the villages of St. Michael and St. John the Baptist had already surrendered to the Senecas and were with them.

[42]*J.R.* 43-49.

[43]*J.R.* 43-51, 199.

[44]*J.R.* 43-187. After the death of P. Jogues, P. Le Moyne was "resurrected" to the name of Jogues, Ondessonk. He was formerly known as Wané.

[45]Notre-Dame de la Jeune-Lorette. l'Abbé Lionel Lindsay. Montreal, 1900.

[46]About the countryside the French people still refer to la Jeune-Lorette as "The Village of the Savages."

[47]Notre-Dame de la Jeune-Lorette. *Passim.* Letter of P. Georges Gagnon, Village-Huron, Province of Quebec.

WOODSTOCK TO PLATTSBURG

It dawned bright and warm this seventh day of July, 1952, at Bellarmine Hall. Regular Villa order was had till ten in the morning, with the *Itinerarium* added after the Community Mass. At ten we boarded three large buses that were grandly advertised as being air-conditioned, but which failed to conquer the heat of that day. At eleven-fifty the buses arrived at Woodstock. The theologians had eaten at eleven-thirty to make way for us, so after examen we had the rare privilege of having lunch, our last meal at Woodstock, in our shirt-sleeves, at twelve-thirty. A crew of philosophers served the meal. The theologians left for villa at one o'clock and were seen off by the philosophers. Then *quies* prevailed, and those who wished could rest for two hours before the long trek began.

After coffee we boarded the B & O buses, bid goodbye to Father Rector and those of the faculty who were home, and had our last look at Woodstock. There were pictures taken of our departure, which took place at three-ten. At three-fifty-five the three buses arrived at Mt. Royal Station, and we streamed out of the buses to be met by the gaping eye of a motion picture camera. Father Farren had arranged this to help publicize the fund-raising campaign for Shrub Oak. Rev. Father Nugent (Provincial of Maryland) was there to mark the historic event and witness our departure. After a few more photographs for the *Baltimore Sun,* we wandered out to the platform to wait for our train.

Domestic Chapel at Bellarmine College

Science classroom of Philosophers
at Bellarmine College

The *Royal Blue* arrived on schedule, so we departed from Baltimore at four-thirty, in the three foremost cars which were reserved for us (two coaches and a diner). The traveling was delightful in the large, comfortable, air-conditioned coaches. Most took immediate advantage of the reclining seats and remained engaged in quiet conversation and viewing the scenery. A few began to sing, and some started a traveling bridge-game which lasted from Baltimore to Albany. Dinner was served in two shifts beginning at five-fifteen. The food was so good that the one serving, which practicality permitted, was scarcely enough. At seven-forty-five we arrived in Jersey City and were promptly herded into waiting buses, which left almost immediately by ferry for Manhattan. On the ferry all left the buses to catch a glimpse of the famous skyline—some few for the first time. We were fortunate to arrive when we did, for the sun was just setting on the Jersey side of the river, and the city was resplendent in reddish gold colors. After a few minutes, back to the buses we went and off the ferry to Grand Central Station, where we arrived at eight-twenty, in four waves. There were a few curious eyes as the first bus unloaded. But by the time the fourth bus disgorged the last wave, the passers-by were agape. One man in the terminal insisted he saw well over two hundred priests passing through. Another person, seeing one of the Scholastics limping from an infection on his foot, noted that these were chaplains home from Korea.

After leaving our bags on the train, we were free to do what we wanted for a half-hour. When we boarded the train we met with the first of the only two hitches in the entire trip, both of which were completely beyond our control. For when we got on the train, we discovered that on one of the two cars, the air-conditioning system was out of order. The engineers gave it a quick repair job, and said that when we started moving the car would quickly cool down. We "started moving" at nine o'clock and sat patiently waiting for the car to cool down, but it was not to be so. After a while many started wandering back to the second car to cool off and then return. The trainman promised that the system would be repaired at Harmon (but it wasn't) and at Albany (again we were disillusioned). Finally, as the night air grew cool, the car became more comfortable. A few minutes after stopping at Pough-

keepsie we roared past the darkened St. Andrew's Novitiate. About all that was seen here were the boats tied up in the Hudson.

At 12:04 A.M. we arrived in Albany, but the soft-drinks and sandwiches did not—and this brings us to the second and last hitch. For after the sandwiches had been sent for, we were apparently pushed onto a siding someplace and forgotten. Finally they brought us to the proper track, and there was the food. Only it was one-ten by this time, so we went hungry till eight that morning when we had breakfast. At one-twenty-five, we left Albany, some forty-five minutes late. But during the night all but seven minutes were made up. By the time we left Albany, most were asleep. The car that didn't have air-conditioning did have two advantages over the other. First of all, due to the popularity of the cool car, there were enough empty seats so that almost everyone was able to turn the seat in front around and enjoy a makeshift bed for himself. Between this, the reclining seats, and the pillows, a fairly comfortable night was had by most. The second advantage of the warm car was that, being older, it had the light-bulbs within convenient reach. These were promptly loosened, and so the night was spent in darkness, disturbed only by the glare of the other car, that found its way through the doors. When we awoke around four-thirty, we were dazzled by the light of the sun, reflected off water. This was our first view of Lake Champlain, and we were duly impressed. At six we arrived at Port Kent, where we were met by some regents who took our luggage in the truck, while we walked the short distance to their Villa. We were able to go to Mass immediately, though breakfast was had as usual at eight. When we arrived at Loyola Villa, we were placed under Father McGinty, superior, and Father Walter, minister. Father Devlin, our superior at Bellarmine Hall, who had made all the arrangements for the Grand Move, and who made the weary trip with us, and to whom a great debt of gratitude was owed, rested for the morning, and then started on the long trip back to Woodstock to look after further details.

Considering the trip of the night before, relatively few went to bed. Most spent the day rowing and swimming, or sitting in the parlors talking to regents. From Tuesday till Friday

we had regular villa order, i.e., the same as we had at Bellarmine Hall. Two groups of twelve "volunteers" spent two days apiece at our new home, cleaning and washing. They brought back magnificent descriptions that whetted our appetites to see our new home. Saturday was spent in cleaning up, and after this a softball game was played with the regents. That night the retreat began. The present second and third year philosophers made a separate retreat under Father T. H. Moore, while the regents were directed by Father H. C. Avery.

Monday morning, the morning the retreat ended, we went back to the buses, this time for a very short, and final, trip to our new home. We left Port Kent around nine-thirty and arrived at Bellarmine College at ten-fifteen, where we were met by our new Rector (the first at Bellarmine College), Father T. E. Henneberry, and our Minister (whom we had had previously at Woodstock), Father J. J. Sheridan. Our new home lived up to all our expectations, with its magnificent building and the golf course, chip-and-putt course, and beach. The front of the building was covered with scaffolding, as the work of renovation went on, but it was clearly evident that a sturdy, substantial, and pleasant building had been provided for us. After greeting the new first-year men who had arrived about four days previously, we went to our rooms to set about unpacking. Our delight with the rooms was not less than our delight with the grounds. The view consisted of a grand panorama of valley and mountain to the front, and of the lake and the distant shore of Vermont with its mountains to the rear. The domestic chapel was a work of art—fitted out under the careful eye of Brother Mahlmeister, who constructed the substantial pews and altar himself, and under the loving direction of Father Kenna, who had directed the entire work of renovation so successfully.

So we were here at last. After all the months of planning and working, the operation was completed. As Father Moore said in his retreat, "The Society has provided us with a wonderful house; now it is up to us to make it a home." And this last, but essential, ingredient is being added by the wonderful spirit of generosity and cooperation manifested by all.

DANIEL F. X. MEENAN, S.J.

OBITUARY

MR. JOHN F. WALSH, S.J.

1921-1952

Father Broderick in his life of St. Francis Xavier notes that practically all the people who gave testimony at Goa about Francis' activity on the trip to India have something to say about his unfailing cheerfulness and good humor. That is a great tribute to a saint, for unfailing good humor is a virtue of noble proportions. We find a similar tribute in all the letters sent to WOODSTOCK LETTERS about Mr. Walsh. Everyone has at least a paragraph on his wonderful sense of humor and his unceasing spirit of happiness. They say a lot more, of course, but that one point is impressive. All of us who knew Jack are going to remember him as a supremely happy man. He was considered thoroughly dependable by superiors, he was respected by his extern friends, and to his fellow Scholastics he was a model Jesuit and a delightful person.

John and David Walsh were born on May 14, 1921 in Washington, D.C. Jack always remained deeply attached to his twin brother and used to delight his fellow Jesuits with tales of their boyhood in Northwest Washington. At St. Gabriel's parish school Jack received his early training. For several years he served the Mass of His Excellency the Most Rev. John M. McNamara, Auxiliary Bishop of Washington. Though Jack's head was as full of football and baseball as any American boy's, yet he did rather well at school.

In his days at Gonzaga High School a boy could easily have fallen into one of several student circles. Jack Walsh seemed to span them all. His honor cards testify that he worked hard at his studies. On the football field he was one of the best ball-carriers in the city. The Walsh brothers more than held their own on one of Gonzaga's most rugged teams. Those brief flashes of temper that we saw occasionally during games at Wernersville were reflections from the Gonzaga days, when he was used to fighting and winning. With more academic extracurricular activities added to his busy high school days,

MR. JOHN F. WALSH

he was the obvious choice for the Civitan Award at the end of his senior year, marking him as Gonzaga's finest of the class of 1940.

Many thought that Jack would begin studies for the priesthood after high school, but he was undecided. During his one year in the pre-medical course at Georgetown he came under the influence of the saintly Father Aloysius Hogan, S.J. Perhaps this helped him to his final decision to apply for entrance into the Society. Brother Walsh was admitted to the Novitiate at Wernersville on July 30, 1941. He was immediately at home in the quiet life of the noviceship. During his four years at Wernersville he was appointed to many of those little positions of trust, so much a part of the life in our houses of study.

Mr. Walsh was sent to Spring Hill, Alabama, for his philosophical studies. Immediately he won the esteem of superiors and Scholastics alike, and had the somewhat unusual honor of being appointed beadle in a scholasticate of another Province. Those who were with him at Spring Hill were deeply impressed by his faithfulness to the Sandtown Mission, a catechism class for Negro children. For three years he never missed the weekly walk there. Mr. Walsh's superior at Spring Hill writes:

> Jack had that beautiful personality which is proper to wholesome American youth matured in a thoroughly Catholic home. He mingled easily with his companions and adjusted himself, apparently without effort, to changing environments . . . In religion these fine qualities of personality and character placed Jack with those who merit the highest praise . . . As a religious, I believe Jack is worthy of the high esteem expressed by Leo XIII on the occasion of the canonization of St. John Berchmans.

Mr. Walsh's three years at Scranton Preparatory School have been described by superiors, students, and fellow teachers. In recent years we have developed a tendency to be sceptical of the perfect success story. Yet the record and our fresh memories allow no other story. This young Jesuit spent his Regency period in the way that we have come to consider the ideal. He was a successful teacher, loved and respected by his students. His hard work as a basketball and baseball coach, moderator of the school paper and assistant Sodality moderator, served only to make him more faithful to his

spiritual duties. All the Scholastics who were at Scranton with him can quote long lists of famous "Walsh Sayings" that helped to make their recreation room a pleasant place. He was always most willing to take on extra work, even though it was not asked, such as running an extra Sodality meeting for the athletes who had to miss the regular one. A pious Scranton lady, seeing Mr. Walsh out with his boys filling a truck with old rags to help some school drive, was moved to say, "Glory be to God! Picking rags, and him a Jesuit!" Our missionaries in India will always remember those regular gifts from Mr. Walsh's class of 2A. By all this extra work done with and for the boys, he endeared himself to them, so that a recreation room saying of his became literally true when news of his death reached Scranton. He used to say, "The boys wept when I descended the rostrum."

Jack had always enjoyed good health, and was noted for his seemingly inexhaustible energy. At Scranton he once asked a fellow Scholastic to go with him to a wake. This man readily agreed, thinking of some such means of locomotion as a street-car. He was amazed to find out that Jack intended to walk all twenty-five blocks. Thus no one was alarmed when he became ill in the spring of his first year of theology at Woodstock. However it soon became apparent that something more than pneumonia was causing his high fevers. A serious heart condition was discovered, and it was determined that he should receive the last sacraments. During the anointing at Mercy Hospital in Baltimore Jack noticed that one of the Sisters was crying. "Don't cry," he said. "This happens all the time." To the amazement of the doctors, even on his last day he was able to recognize visitors and speak in a strong voice. They would hardly have expected him to be able to speak at all in his condition. Mr. Walsh's constant concern was to cheer and comfort his loved ones. During the afternoon of April 16 the doctors drew off fluid from behind the heart. During this painful procedure Mr. Walsh was conscious and joked with the chest surgeon. About eight o'clock in the evening he could breathe only with difficulty. His eyes were on the crucifix on the wall. To Father Rector he said, "If I keep my eyes on Him, I can stand it." Father Rector gave him a crucifix to kiss and imparted absolution and the

Apostolic Blessing just before he slipped quietly to his reward.

To sum up in one sentence a man's life, even a young man's life, is a difficult thing to do. If it is to be done in Mr. Walsh's case, perhaps the Jesuits who lived with him would put it this way: "He combined a deep personal holiness with a spirit of warm camaraderie to produce one of the finest personalities among our contemporaries and an ideal model for present day American Scholastics." At the Solemn Pontifical Requiem Mass offered at St. Gabriel's Church, Bishop McNamara gave this moving summary:

> John Francis Walsh died with the heart of a priest. We think he died before his time, but it was God's will that he should in this way complete the sacrifice begun on the day he entered the Society of Jesus. In life he found peace in doing the will of God; in accepting death as God's will he enjoys peace in its fulness. "In His will is our peace"—and only there.

STEPHEN F. LATCHFORD, S.J.

FATHER ALBERTO HURTADO

1901-1952

On August 18, 1952 Father Alberto Hurtado, S.J. died in Santiago, Chile, at the age of fifty-one. The Chilean press and radio commented on his death; in Santiago's city hall men of various political parties praised his life and work; the Congress of Chile voted to erect a statue to his memory. In the words of one Chilean senator, Father Hurtado "was the most eminent man produced by the nation in our day."

A crowd of more than five thousand persons from the lowest to the highest ranks of society walked behind Father Hurtado's cortege for forty blocks to the church where he was buried. So ended in this world a life that was truly outstanding.

Before his entrance into the Society of Jesus, Father Hurtado's life was moulded to apostolicity by his work among the poor as a member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, as a Sodalist among his companions in the University. In August, 1924 he took a law degree for which he wrote a thesis on "Domestic Work in Chile." That year he entered the Society of

Jesus. After his noviceship in Chile, he studied philosophy at Barcelona and theology at Louvain. The Very Reverend John Janssens, S.J., present general of the Society of Jesus, was Father Hurtado's rector in theology so that Father Janssens could testify years later to a South American Bishop: "In all my long years as superior, I never saw a more zealous soul than Father Hurtado." After earning a doctorate in education at Louvain, Father Hurtado returned to Chile to spread generously the message of God in the most varied apostolic work.

The most typical note of his apostolate was his realistic view of the problems of his milieu. He was the bearer of an eternal message that he had to impart in time, and the dispenser of a life to be shared with men, but he had to reckon with both time and men. He desired that his labor should be as realistic as his ideals were spiritual. The first of these realistic approaches to the apostolate was his analysis of religious sociology in his book, *Is Chile a Catholic Country?* The title and the thesis of the book were startling. It is so sweet to sleep, lulled by illusory statistics. It is easy to dream that a country is Catholic because the census and the number of baptized so declare; it is easy to regard exterior manifestations of piety as superior to those vital works of the Church which demand constant sacrifice. Other statistics based upon the number assisting at Mass, the number of Christian marriages, the number of those fulfilling their Easter duty, as well as personal observations, convinced Father Hurtado that the ideal was very remote. Ten or fifteen percent of the Chilean population attended Mass. Fifty percent were married in the Church.

Father Hurtado's book provoked a storm. It lashed consciences towards profounder action. It was an orientation for Catholic Action as well as a call to youth to whom it presented a vast field of endeavor.

Father Hurtado's realistic insight made him aware of a vital need of the Church: vocations to the priesthood. Where the Church lacks the necessary number of priestly vocations, she is radically sick. The advance of the Church is continuous, but if she lacks the vital human channels of her supernatural life, she is doomed to decline. To help supply this need, he published some pamphlets and the book, *The Choice of a Way*

FATHER ALBERTO HURTADO

of Life. Parents, fearful perhaps that God would call one of their children to His service, accused Father Hurtado of "fishing for vocations." They did not understand that such vocations were born of a contact with the fiery soul of an apostle. His interest in vocations bore much fruit in many hours dedicated to spiritual direction. Because of this direction, more than one hundred boys entered upon studies for the priesthood. Father's interest in vocations was also manifested in the construction of a Jesuit Novitiate. The former Novitiate in Chillan was totally destroyed in 1939 by an earthquake. He raised funds for a new Novitiate by literally begging from door to door. Adjacent to the Novitiate, he built a three storey retreat house, modern in every respect.

In 1940 Father Hurtado was appointed national director of Catholic Action for Youth. This position gave him the opportunity to travel through the entire country, organizing and strengthening various Catholic Action groups. In this work he fashioned youth into true men who were at the same time deeply Christian, tireless before the urgencies of the present, and selfless in their cooperation in the apostolate of the Church. At this time he published the book, *Points of Education,* on the formation of the man, the Christian, the leader. Conferences, retreats, personal direction were to be the basis of the spiritual formation of the new generation.

It is in connection with Father Hurtado's work as a retreat master that one glimpses something of his deep spirituality. He gave many retreats each year. The most noteworthy of these was the one given annually during Holy Week to some two hundred young men, university students and the elite of the Catholic Action movement. Observers have noted the effect which Father Hurtado's conviction, faith, and devotion to Christ had on these young men. His conferences and points for meditation left them deeply stirred and recollected; it seemed that they received a share in his own highly spiritual inner resources. The reason for this might be found in a remark of Father Hurtado that during the retreats he gave, he, too, made the exercises with the exercitants. Otherwise, he felt that his own spirit of prayer and recollection would not be attuned to the spirit of the retreat. It was an example of the Ignatian spirit which recommends that force flow to the

exterior action only by reason of the purity, depth, and richness of the inner life. Father Hurtado also wrote two other books for young men, *Affective Life During Adolescence*, and *Crisis of Puberty and Education for Chastity*. These few observations help to show the entire bent and direction of Father Hurtado's life, a life dedicated to the formation of youth in Christ. His single pedagogical doctrine and technique, his whole secret was: "Love and serve."

In 1945 Father Hurtado was engaged in the social apostolate. He recognized that the Church of Christ could not exclude the working class without denying her mission. He published the book, *Social Humanism*, notes on social education for parents and teachers. After a year of study in the United States, he published another book, *Christian Social Order*, a documentary study of the social doctrine of the Church according to the writings of Popes and Bishops.

Yet Father Hurtado was not born to be a mere intellectual. His personality impelled him to action. It seemed that his temperament would not permit him a life free from intense activity. As soon as he foresaw the possibility of a period of idleness, immediately he laid plans for new projects. Above all, the needs of his environment urged him to action. He had seen thousands of abandoned men without a place to spend the night, whole families wandering from place to place without homes. The Salvation Army alone maintained lodgings for these people. In the city of Santiago, five thousand abandoned boys slept beneath the bridges of the city or crouched in the streets, covering themselves with newspapers or huddled together with their mongrel dogs for warmth. Often the newspapers casually noted that five or six persons had been found dead of cold. These realities moved Father Hurtado to undertake his famous work, the Home of Christ. His object was not only to provide food and shelter for those who had none but also to offer to these men new possibilities in life. Within a year he had converted three large houses into dwelling places for destitute men, women, and boys and was assisted by a group of trained social workers in the rehabilitation of the poor. During the year 1951 Father Hurtado's Home of Christ provided shelter for 164,467 people. Between the years 1945-51, the total of those helped was 846,038.

For the young men, the Home of Christ was not merely a place where they were transient guests. It was a home. After a period in which they acclimated themselves, they entered upon the work of readaptation to a new way of life. They received primary instruction at the Home of Christ and then attended various technical schools according to their abilities. They were trained as plumbers, carpenters, electricians, and on a farm outside the city, farmers were trained.

Each night Father Hurtado would drive his small truck to the bridges and slum areas of the city to find these homeless waifs and bring them home. It was difficult to win their confidence to the point where they would come of their own accord to the Home of Christ. Father Hurtado often found the boys filled with resentment, suspicion, and distrust. After they arrived at the Home of Christ, the boys proved unused to discipline. They were conditioned to the all but subhuman behavior of the streets. Many of them would run away from the Home of Christ. Father Hurtado would patiently seek after them to bring them back. Even the dogs provided a difficulty. The boys would not be separated from their mongrels. Father Hurtado met this problem by fitting up a special kennel in the Home of Christ.

In 1949 Father Hurtado formed a society devoted to the relief of the housing shortage. This society was a cooperative for the construction of low-cost housing for workers. Three hundred houses out of a projected thousand are already built. The need for such housing is evident from the rapid growth of the population which increased from 400,000 to 1,200,000 in the past 30 years. Inadequate housing conditions which saw 400,000 persons at least, living in circumstances unfit for human beings, resulted in serious detriment to morality. A hut of one room, on the average, served six people. Promiscuity, therefore, and malnutrition prevailed. Education, religion, the very sense of morality were all but non-existent. Father Hurtado insisted that it was futile to preach morality to these people until some improvement in their economic situation had been made.

Almsgiving, no matter on how large a scale, was not enough, Father Hurtado realized. Charity given out of the fear of justice was not charity. The working class had to be defended

and protected in their just demands. It was necessary to work at the level of justice. Consequently, ASICH, the Association of Chilean Trade Unions, was born. The object of ASICH was the education of union leaders. Through the efforts of ASICH in cooperation with many technical consultants, laws were formulated and proposed to the Congress of Chile for the improvement of the economic condition of the working class. ASICH established a legal bureau which intervened on behalf of workingmen in disputes with employers. This Association also published a newspaper called *Union Tribune* to acquaint workers with the Christian social mind. Further, ASICH is a member of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions.

The movement which formed the ASICH, however, remains in a nascent stage and by no means indicates that the labor movement has been penetrated deeply by Catholic social thought. The Chilean labor movement remains under Communist and Socialist domination. In the national council of the Chilean confederation of workers, among the twenty highest leaders, three men from ASICH are to be found.

To guide Christian labor leaders, Father Hurtado wrote the book, *Syndicalism*. When doctor's orders forbade external activity, he wrote his last book, *Professional Morality*.

Beyond these material achievements, Father Hurtado's main contribution stands in the creation of a social conscience among the Catholics of Chile and in gaining understanding and respect for the social teaching of the Church among non-Catholics. This was accomplished by constant preaching, lectures, conferences, and chiefly by his obvious sincerity.

It must not be thought that Father Hurtado neglected the intellectual class. One year before his death he founded the monthly magazine, *Mensaje*, to bring the Christian vision of life to bear on contemporary problems.

An enumeration of the works of a man will not depict his personality. An attempt to describe Father Hurtado might make use of the words of his lifelong friend, His Excellency Msgr. Manuel Laraine, a Chilean Bishop, who said:

> The works that he founded can die with the passing of years as perish all human things. But a monument more lasting than bronze will project into time the great call to our social duty which Father

> Hurtado has given to us. His attempt to implant his social doctrine did not lack the cross of criticism and the gall of misunderstanding. No dreamer's Utopia, no romantic exaltation, no bitter hatred inspired his firm position and his straightforward teaching. To be witness to a doctrine, not yielding before fear nor flattery, not faltering though one's position is often misunderstood, not deviating from the true path which one's doctrine should follow, this is no easy task but it requires fortitude born of profound conviction, serenity which knows that God will in time have justice, a vision of eternity which bestows true value upon men and their problems. This is the legacy which Father Hurtado has bequeathed to us.

Father Hurtado was an attractive personality and possessed a happy and optimistic spirit which he could communicate. He greeted everyone with a smile and the question: "What can I do for you, *patroncito* (my little patron)?" The same happiness which he shared with the laity, he gave more generously to his fellow Jesuits. Impulsive of character, when once he saw a work to be done, he was a man of action, yet he was not deaf to the advice or contrary opinions of others, although no advice could dissuade him from a work prompted by his conscience. He never lost heart. In circumstances which would discourage others, he would say: "For every door that is closed to us, God will open ninety-nine." It was his mission to open new horizons, to begin works, but he was criticised because he appeared to force others to tend the seeds which he had planted. The whole dynamism of his many enterprises finds adequate explanation only in his profound love for Christ and his fellow men. His spirit of religious obedience was remarkable.

Of the many tributes paid to the memory of Father Hurtado, the most touching perhaps was a newspaper editorial written by a man who had lost the Faith. After expressing deep admiration for Father Hurtado, the editor wrote: "Those who believe can pray for him and be consoled. I cannot find such consolation. Therefore, for me his death is bitter, without remedy, final."

RENATO POBLETE, S.J.

Books of Interest to Ours

CHURCH AND STATE

The Two Sovereignties. *By Joseph Lecler, S.J.* New York, Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. x-186. $3.75.

In a most enlightening way for our time, Don Luigi Sturzo has portrayed systematically the expansion of consciousness through human process by which man has penetrated the world around him with ever richer and deeper levels of rationality. Good and evil, peace and calamity, truth and falsity, coupled with every type of human reaction to apprehended values, have all by their dialectic tension jogged on this processive infusion of rationality into man's total experience. Great books are obviously helpful toward an appreciation of human experience and tradition, and this little volume of Father Lecler is an outstanding contribution toward clarification of a problem that has vexed mankind ever since the distinction between the sacred and the temporal was injected into the human process by Christ. For as our understanding of human realities, individual and especially social, develops, so too does our sense for the nuances and tonalities of unchanging dogma in its application to the concrete grow more confident.

Father Lecler, S.J., an editor of *Etudes* and a professor at the Institut Catholique in Paris, published *L'Eglise et la Souveraineté de L'Etat* in 1946, of which *The Two Sovereignties* is a translation. The book attempts a clarification of a most complex social problem—social on the level of the sacred as well as on the level of the temporal and political. It offers a doctrinal treatment of the basic Catholic principles governing the Church's attitude toward the question of State sovereignty. This is then complemented by an historical survey of the various incarnations of these principles.

Father Lecler does not say the final word. That will come in its proper time from the *magisterium.* Meanwhile Catholic scholars are working towards a solution. However, the book is very valuable in its insistence on the fact of a true progress in Catholic dogma, even in relation to the State. Nor has the dogma involved here been enunciated with anything like the clarity of, say, a Trinitarian formula. The Church has so long been involved in the business of defending her rights against the persecutions which revelation indicated would always be with her, that there have been few periods when a truly dispassionate investigation of dogmatic ultimates could be undertaken. Hence Father Lecler trumpets the absolute necessity of turning to history as a help in discerning between "solidly-founded tradition and merely provisional orientations." History as a discipline makes caution a habit, and in this dogmatic field few intellectual qualities are as necessary as caution. There is possibly no sphere of action and theory in modern society where an uncautious zeal, however well intended, can so readily quench the smoking flax. Nor is this caution a pusillanimity in defending Catholic truth, since there is much puzzlement in competent Catholic quarters

about the validity of many statements put forth by various private Catholic sources as true Catholic doctrine.

Certainly the claim of the publishers that this book is likely to remain a standard authority on the relationship of Church and State is not completely without foundation. It is an important book, and that not the least in its observations on the modern phenomenon of the lay state.

FRANCIS J. GROGAN, S.J.

The Life of Archbishop John Ireland. *By James H. Moynihan.* New York, Harper, 1953. Pp. xii-441. $5.00.

The years between 1875 and the end of World War I were turbulent ones for the Church in the United States. In the center of the turmoil stood John Ireland whose Irish heart would not permit him to turn away from a good fight. Moved by zeal for the Church and love of America, he plunged into the controversies concerning nationalism in the Church, the school question, and the so-called heresy of Americanism. Although the outcome was not all that Archbishop Ireland had wished, he never surrendered, however much he wearied of the struggle as the years passed by. Impatient with those who hesitated or delayed, sometimes imprudent, he hurt tender feelings with his bluntness. Adversaries struck back, of course. He expected that, and he complained only when he thought an unfair blow had been landed. The Church owes this apostolic warrior a debt of gratitude.

By becoming the first worthwhile biographer the Archbishop has had, Monsignor Moynihan has attempted to pay some part of that debt. He has indicated, as he set out to do, "the vision, the courage and the myriad activities of 'the Apostle of the West,' as well as the contribution which during half a century he made to Church and State." Readers will be impressed by the tireless efforts Ireland made, the good he accomplished, the range of his interests, and the liberalness of his views. All are included, with numerous quotations from the Archbishop's own works, in this story of his life.

Little fault can be found with what is included in the book; a certain amount of repetition is the inevitable result of bypassing the ordinary chronological approach to biography in favor of separate essays. When, for instance, the author writes of "The Educator" in chapter ten, he cannot avoid repeating some of the things he already put down in his chapter on "The School Question."

The chief objection to the work is that Monsignor Moynihan has not allowed enough of Archbishop Ireland to come through to the reader. His imprudence is mentioned but carefully concealed; so, too, is his impatience. His wit and humor are nowhere to be found in these pages, while the force and color of his personality are apparent only in some of the quotations from his own works.

Although one might wish for a more intimate personal acquaintance

with the dynamic Archbishop, he will find here a readable and interesting record of his multitudinous labors and lofty aspirations.

JOSEPH D. AYD, S.J.

IGNATIAN SPIRITUALITY

The Spirituality of St. Ignatius Loyola, An Account of Its Historical Development. *By Hugo Rahner, S.J.* Translated by Francis J. Smith, S.J. Westminster, Newman, 1953. Pp. xv-142.

It is not enough to know only the final form of a thing, but also its genesis and development. This truism, as old as Aristotle, has served as a *point de depart* for Father Hugo Rahner, S.J., in his scholarly study of the apostolic spirituality of St. Ignatius. First written at Innsbruck in 1947, and shortly after translated into French, this important study of Ignatian spirituality is now made available in English by Father Francis J. Smith, S.J., of the Chicago Province.

After a first reading of this unusually useful and truly inspiring commentary, the first thought that comes to mind is: "How has the author managed to say so very much that is so worth-while in the compass of so few pages?" And a rereading of the slender volume only underlines the query. In less than 125 pages of text, Father Rahner has given us as deep an insight into "the nature of the ideal of perfection" of the Spiritual Exercises and the Society of Jesus as is, we think, humanly possible. There is a conscious spareness and economy of words in the author's style that only makes for a clearer presentation of the "genesis and development" of our spirituality. He has given us that combination "of unction of the spirit and tradition" without which it is impossible to gain a complete understanding either of the Spiritual Exercises or of our Society.

The genuine stamp of devoted and painstaking scholarship is here—make no mistake of that. But the author has succeeded in "breaking through the surface of texts in the sources," and has uncovered to us "those depths which lie beyond the pale of pure history, where the countenance of St. Ignatius in his contemplation of God takes on those unforgettable lineaments which he has handed down in the books of his spiritual experiences and in the books of the foundation of his Order." (p. xi) Not content with this, Father Rahner has very tellingly and beautifully placed the ideal of Ignatius and his Order into the general stream of the history of the development of perfection from Apostolic times until the Saint's own day and beyond. This he has achieved by contrasting, while at the same time indicating the essentially similar features of, St. Ignatius and that other Ignatius of Antioch, Basil, Benedict, and Augustine, and lastly Catherine and Bernardine of Siena. In each of these little gems of comparison we see the pre-eminence of mystical contact with God, the Pauline "solicitude for all the churches," and the constant submission to the Church of Christ. "Every grace

must be measured by the law of the Church; every love, by the spirit of obedience; every spirit, by the Mystical Body of Christ, our Lord." (p. xiii) St. Ignatius is unquestionably a man of the Church.

Naturally, certain facets of this mystico-apostolic spirituality are highlighted as a result of our study. First there is the ideal of service that Ignatius meant himself and his sons to render to Christ's Body, the Church—a service that must be characterized by the *magis* and the *caritas discreta* that so mark the actualization of Ignatius' ideal. Speaking of this "discreet love" Father Rahner remarks: "No one can have a right understanding or make an unfailingly correct use of this discretion, except one who has from prayerful experience learned to know the source from which it springs; that is, from knowledge, enlightened by grace, of the discernment of spirits, or, to speak theologically, from knowledge of the relation existing between nature and grace, between Christ and the world." (p. 42) The mark of service to be rendered to the Mystical Body of Christ is found in the Society's "illimitability"—to be measured only by Christ and the daily battle for the salvation of His Church—and in the Society's "readiness to dare and do all, never allowing itself to be wholly confined within the limits of peaceful forms and tasks." (p. 109)

As we make our way through this incomparable study of Ignatian spirituality, we are forcefully reminded of those words of Father Lindworsky's: "Each one must to a certain degree himself become the founder of the Order, grasp the ideal of the founder, animate himself therewith, and apply it to himself in his particular conditions." (*Psychology of Asceticism*, p. 22) One might truly say that this book was written in order to implement these words, and to fit them for use by the Jesuit of today. For it perfectly fulfils the need of each of us to grasp the ideal of our holy founder and to animate ourselves with that boundless love which burned within his saintly heart. Nor must the mystical origin of the Society deter us from laying hold of this ideal of perfection. "An intensive study of theology must compensate for our deficiency of Ignatius' gift of sudden insight 'into the connection between the mysteries of our Faith and of the Church.'" And Father Rahner points to three tracts of theology of the utmost importance for a right understanding of the Spiritual Exercises and the ideal of our Society. These are: the theology of sin; the theology of the Kingdom of Christ as a war waged against Satan; and the theology of the discernment of spirits. (pp. 94-6)

"Therefore, we may sum up the results of this historical survey on the ideal of perfection, as it should be lived in the Spiritual Exercises and in the Society of Jesus, in the following words: Service in the Church, under the banner of the Cross, for the glory of the Father." (p. 111) And the spirit in which such service is to be rendered? A triple love—a love of discipline, reverence and self-forgetfulness.

Here, then, is a study that *all* of Ours must read, and reread—and make its message the subject both of meditation and fervent prayer.

JOHN F. X. BURTON, S.J.

Retreat Notes. *By Joseph Keating, S.J.* Edited by Philip Caraman, S.J. Westminster, Newman, 1953. Pp. xi-129. $1.75.

Father Joseph Keating, S.J., is best known for his work with *The Month.* For thirty-two years, from 1907 until his death in 1939, he served on its staff; for all but the first five years he was its editor. His literary work consequently needs little introduction to English and American readers. Now his posthumous *Retreat Notes* come as a worthy supplement to his many other published works. Father Philip Caraman, S.J., has edited the spiritual diaries which Father Keating kept of his yearly retreats from his long retreat in the noviceship in 1883 until his death. From these, beginning with the year 1910, when his retreat reflections become more direct and original, Father Caraman has selected his insights into the retreat meditations. They make a worthwhile contribution to the literature on the Exercises.

The book is planned on the lines of the Exercises with its weeks and meditations. For each meditation the editor has assembled in brief paragraphs the more striking inspirations which Father Keating received in prayer. Each paragraph represents a distinct meditation and although very compressed, the observations which Father Keating makes are generally very stimulating. It is a humble book, only 129 small pages, but for its compression of thought on the one hand and the power of its message on the other, it is most admirable. It is a book which has to be read very slowly but it well repays the reader by its discerning knowledge of the Exercises and the spiritual life, the depth and maturity of its spirituality, and the glimpses it gives us of the inner man. It will prove useful both for those who give retreats and for those who make them.

JOHN J. MCCONNELL, S.J.

Obedience. *By various Authors.* Westminster, Newman, 1953. Pp. 289.

It is the purpose of this present volume of essays to dispel many of the clouds of ill will and misunderstanding that shroud this "Christifying" virtue. High-lighted throughout are the difficulties that confront the youthful aspirant or candidate of today, so immersed in a milieu that seeks personal salvation in a spirit of unbounded independence. His (or more properly her) particular problems *vis-à-vis* obedience are given a thorough airing; and appeal is made to reason and Revelation in arriving at methods of training and other "adaptations" necessary in modern religious life.

Obedience is the fourth in a series of studies undertaken by the Editors of the French Dominican review, *La Vie Spirituelle,* and translated into English by an anonymous "C. P." The essays are divided into those dealing with: History, Doctrine, Psychological Maturity, Experimental. The concluding chapter is on the total surrender that perfect obedience demands, and is easily one of the best of the collection.

Although the essays were intended for women religious (and some are

written by women—religious and lay), it is surprising how much in common we have with the distaff side of the cloister—in this matter of obedience. Human nature is the common lot of us all, irrespective of sex, and it is human nature with which obedience must grapple. The accidental differences which one must expect are, of course, given special treatment. But this in no way detracts from the value of the book for the Jesuit, whose ideal of perfection is so identified with this virtue of obedience. Three of the chapters are written by Ours, and one of them comments on St. Ignatius' contribution to the literature (and practice) of obedience.

The problem of the lack of initiative that threatens the obedient religious; the necessity of love in the will if obedience is to be a "human act" and so productive of a "human" personality; the inter-relation of intelligence and faith, and its consequences on the ticklish subject of "blind obedience"; and finally the function of the virtue as it is animated by love in the formation of Christ within us, are some of the more valuable items of interest. The need for self-donation, and self-surrender over self-realization are stressed throughout. There is scarcely a page that will not yield inspiration and further understanding of this so important virtue that thereby we may be led to a more complete practice of obedience.

JOHN F. X. BURTON, S.J.

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MOULDER OF MEN

A Moulder of Men, John H. O'Rourke, S.J. *By W. Coleman Nevils, S.J.* New York, Apostleship of Prayer, 1953. Pp. xv + 284.

In compiling this memoir, the author has permitted Father O'Rourke to write his own life and to speak for himself as master of novices, as editor of the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, as preacher and retreat master. Out of the immense amount of matter at his disposal, Father Nevils has chosen typical examples of Father O'Rourke's writings, sermons, conferences, and meditations. From them all and from the writer's skillfully interwoven commentary, there emerges the picture of a Jesuit after the heart of St. Ignatius. In the memoir Father O'Rourke stands out as pre-eminently *contemplativus in actione*, a man who practised what he preached, who drank the chalice of humiliation and was not unacquainted with sorrow, who refused, in spite of much pain, both physical and mental, to mitigate his labors but went on day after day with a smile on his lips. And his death was even more heroic than his life.

Father Nevils was well fitted to write this memoir. He spent the first four years of his religious life under Father O'Rourke's care. He lived with him at Poughkeepsie, when Father O'Rourke was instructor of tertians. He made two Long Retreats under Father O'Rourke's direction and was frequently in touch with him during Father O'Rourke's literary and apostolic life. He himself was deeply influenced by Father

O'Rourke's teaching and example and was well aware of the extent of the influence which Father O'Rourke exerted on others, both within and without the Society. He had a profound and lasting admiration for Father O'Rourke's tireless zeal, his apostolic energy, his spirit of poverty, his ardent love of Jesus Christ, and his personal holiness.

Father Nevils might easily, therefore, have been led into writing a panegyric. He has not done so. His memoir is marked throughout by an admirable restraint and is a sober presentation of facts. The style, as in his other books, is facile, simple, unaffected, with a gracious undertone of humor. Himself no mean moulder of men, he has given us an inspiring portrait of a great moulder of men. Those who read the book will be grateful for it. It is good to know that we have had, and still have, men like Father O'Rourke.

J. HARDING FISHER, S.J.

* * *

LAY APOSTOLATE

The Faith and Modern Man. *By Romano Guardini.* New York, Pantheon Books, 1952. Pp. vii-166. $2.50.

In the preface to the twelve essays that form the book under review, Monsignor Guardini reminds the reader of their special history. Written during the late war, they were prompted by a desire of the author to inform and strengthen the minds of a confused people in Germany. Originally twelve lectures delivered in a Berlin church, these essays were distributed as letter enclosures until their suppression by a hostile government. Each grew spontaneously from the questionings and doubts of Christians in a period of severe spiritual threat.

Guardini re-examines and clarifies for modern man various fundamental truths of the Catholic faith, and he selects those that are especially challenged in the world today. In order, his subjects are adoration, God's patience, God's dominion and man's freedom, the Lordship of Christ, providence, revelation as history, faith, doubt in the stages of life, dogma, the saints, the devil, and purgatory. The author writes from personal experience with the contemporary problems of man, and undoubtedly he is in close contact with the modern mind. He is a theologian who restates fundamental truths with a warmth and persuasiveness. Without being polemical, his apologetic writing is eminently clear and instructive for priest and layman. This is indeed an appealing and rewarding book by one of the foremost theologians in Europe today. His reflection on the distinctive character of a Christian is particularly appropriate today when Christian life is threatened: "To stand firm, the Christian will have to gain a deeper and purer understanding of his own nature. He must know the sacred history which stretches from the beginning of the world down through all the mighty acts of God to Christ, and from Christ to himself. He must believe in a much more actual way in providence in his personal life—not in the sense of a wise, universal order, but in the sense that his own destiny is being guided by his Father

in heaven, and that the salvation of what appears to him a casual, but what to God is a precious existence, is linked with the coming about of God's kingdom. Through this understanding every happening will take on meaning, every hour be significant in its demands."

MARSHALL B. WINKLER, S.J.

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We and the Holy Spirit. *By Léonce de Grandmaison, S.J.* Translated by Angeline Bouchard. Chicago, Fides, 1953. Pp. xix-223. $3.75.

The notes used by Father de Grandmaison in his conferences to a group of schoolteachers are here assembled into a program for lay apostles. His is a plain hard diet—docility, labor, prayer, purification. The apostle's sanctity is rooted in a desire to spread the Kingdom of God. Its atmosphere is habitual prayer and docility to God's inspirations; its reward, besides a harvest of souls, is apostolic joy.

In teaching mental prayer he makes excellent use of citations from Sts. Bernard and Augustine to show how a text from scripture can be savoured and how thought merges into affective prayer. Yet his chief contribution in this field is his concept of "virtual prayer," a conscious preference of apostolic interests over selfish concerns, God's plans over human plans, the Spirit of Christ over the spirit of the world. "It is truly prayer because it unites us to God, makes us docile to His inspirations and attunes us to His will. . . . It is called 'virtual' because it continues long after the few positive acts from which it flows, and it has an impact on our life that is far out of proportion to the time devoted to these positive acts."

Style is the book's main defect. Often the notes are too brief and abstract to be meaningful; and the translation, though generally well done, is a bit too literal. The result is phrases like "martyrizing zeal" or words whose English meaning is different from what the author intends. Then, too, Father de Grandmaison would doubtless have been the first to delete many fleshless mediocre chapters whose only recommendation is his name.

The book is more suited to occasional meditation than a continuous reading. On the whole it offers to the educated lay apostle suggestions that are practical as well as inspiring, and to friends of Father de Grandmaison a rewarding view of his spirit and ideals.

JOSEPH E. KERNS, S.J.

A Layman's Way to Perfection. *By Robert B. Eiten, S.J.* St. Meinrad, Grail, 1953. Pp. 117. $1.75.

"The matter treated here should provide enough material for a two-hour course on the Spiritual Theology of Perfection for the Laity." In the light of this, the author's purpose, the book should be judged a

success. It is concise, moves clearly and systematically through the call to perfection, the concept of perfection, sin and the counsels—all in terms which a layman would readily understand.

Practicality is its outstanding virtue. It does not merely praise spiritual reading but suggests a few titles; and after advising the reader to draw up a way of life with definite ideals, it offers a sample program and describes some of the organizations in the United States today for laymen aiming at perfection. Awareness of the layman's special problems is apparent in its suggestions for making the Catholic home an attractive place to live, or in its treatment of devotion to the saints, a section especially useful in this age of novenas.

The style is suited to a textbook, plain, clear, with bare outlines often preferred to a more literary treatment of topics such as meditation and the general examen. Though technical Latin terms are remarkably well translated, the examples are often weak and dilute a book that is otherwise rich in content.

The treatment is rapid, sketchy, and designed to be supplemented by a teacher. However, directors in search of a brief clear guide for laymen aspiring to perfection might do well to consult this book.

JOSEPH E. KERNS, S.J.

* * *

Perfection Is for You. *By Thomas J. Higgins, S.J.* Milwaukee, Bruce, 1953. Pp. x-271. $4.25.

This series of twelve conferences on phases of the ascetical life, originally intended for Religious but here adapted to laymen, is obviously the product of many years' work. The author's contention, very well expressed in the preface, is that "Inspiration, to be genuine, must be grounded upon faith and reason, and that groundwork should be manifest." The book that results is notable for a theological depth that is rare in works of this type.

Scripture, the Summa, and a host of authorities are marshalled to support or illustrate ideas. Almost every page is fortified with appropriate quotations from the Fathers. The author's own observations, such as those on the relations of subjects and superiors, are often penetrating and always marked by common sense. If there is a defect here, it is the failure to deal more concretely with the particular problems of laymen. The book still tends to discuss asceticism in general, and too many of the examples have meaning only for Religious.

The style is always clear, tends to be abstract, and requires slow, thoughtful reading. An unhappy choice of words makes it uneven at times. Colloquialisms like "smithereens" do not sit well amid theological terms and such heavy phrases as "making us like unto God."

The first two chapters with their description of perfection and the soul's progress toward it, are the book's outstanding contribution. On the whole it is a happy blend of doctrine and inspiration and should

arouse in educated laymen with a reflective turn of mind a desire for the life which it describes.

JOSEPH E. KERNS, S.J.

* * *

How to Read the Bible. *By Abbé Roger Poelman.* Translated by a Nun of Regina Laudis, O.S.B. New York, Kenedy, 1953. Pp. 113. $1.50.

This self-teaching guide to the inspired word, translated from the popular French edition *Ouvrons la Bible,* deserves a place on the shelves of the Catholic laity. Though little more than a set of program notes to help the uninitiate follow the score, the book is accurately gauged to encourage the ordinary person who knows not where to start nor how to proceed through the ponderous Scriptures.

The author actually makes the Old Testament look less awesome by his method of simply highlighting salient aspects, persons, and events in the chronicle and by suggesting for reading brief snatches of more memorable passages. In this way the thread of continuity is easily followed and the reader is more apt to be impressed by the historical consistency of God's dealing with our race. Frequent and appropriate cross reference, especially to the New Testament, brings out the Messianic design very fittingly.

Since this is a "how-to" book and not a commentary, one ought not to argue with the author for according more space to the Pauline writings than to Gospels and Acts together. For like a useful set of Ignatian points, the notes offer a minimum prelection for profitable reading without taking away the reader's joy of discovery. In our age of religious illiteracy when men run more than they read, this kind of aid serves a blessed purpose.

NICHOLAS J. CARROLL, S.J.

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Of Sacraments and Sacrifice. *By Clifford Howell, S.J.* Collegeville, The Liturgical Press, 1952. Pp. xi-171. $2.50.

Seeking to attract new readers, the editors of *Worship* (formerly *Orate Fratres*) requested Father Clifford Howell, S.J., to do a series of articles which would help "the beginner," new to the liturgical point of view. The popularity of the series warranted their reappearance under one cover. *Of Sacraments and Sacrifice* is the result.

The title indicates the general division of the book, yet hardly indicates the scope of the material covered. Opening with an explanation of the purpose of the liturgical apostolate as "mature Catholicism" or the active participation of the laity in the liturgy, Father Howell deftly guides the reader through the fundamentals. The notion of the supernatural and the life of grace, the doctrine of the Mystical Body, the sacramental order, and what is involved in the terms "liturgy" and "worship" all receive clear explanation. With his sight set on the uninitiated,

criticism of the sketchy treatment given such profound doctrines would hardly be fair. The reader may be disappointed, however, that the treatment of the sacraments individually is so brief. The historical picture of the sacrament of penance as practised about the sixth century will evoke lay-folk interest.

With the conviction that Catholics do not understand the Mass, precisely because they do not understand the meaning of sacrifice, a detailed exposition of its nature and meaning is given. There follows a brief explanation of the theology of the redemption in the perfect sacrifice of Christ. The notion of the lay priesthood plus a chapter on completing the sacrifice by accepting God's return gift in Holy Communion receive due treatment. The Dialogue Mass is promoted, while Father Howell scores heavily against private prayers during the Mass—a public act.

The two final chapters differ widely from the general theme. The vitality of our liturgy having been lost (not in substance but in outward form), a liturgical reform is advocated. The Mass in the time of Pope St. Gregory is envisioned as having attained particular excellence with the social nature of the sacrifice made apparent by differentiation of function by the participants. The priest doing all in today's Mass performs a "one-man sacrifice." The key problem of public worship today is posed as, "extrinsic difficulties of the esoteric liturgy we have had for centuries have produced an intrinsic difficulty of mental maladjustment." It is a question of private devotions versus public worship. The solution is seen in a reorientation of the public mind from, "the hyper-sentimental, individualistic, self-centered type of piety, to the dogma-filled, communal and Christocentric type enshrined (or should one say buried) in the liturgy."

Father Howell is no radical, nor does he advocate any revolutionary readjustment, yet he is progressive. He is convinced that the reform will come. Meanwhile he gives himself to preparing the faithful with partial solutions.

JOHN E. BENNETT, S.J.

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The Sacred Heart Encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI. *Edited by Carl J. Moell, S.J.* New York, America, 1953. Pp. 72. $.25.

On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of *Miserentissimus Redemptor*, Father Moell has edited this commemorative pamphlet which contains four encyclical letters on devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. It is dedicated to Leo XIII, the Pope of Consecration, and to Pius XI, the Pope of Reparation. Each letter is followed by a brief outline. The collection closes with an excerpt from Pius XII, on the Unity of Human Society.

JAMES A. MCKEOUGH, S.J.

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